DREISER'S J'ACCUSE *A review by Samuel Sillen*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

January 28, 1941

WHO ARE CHINA'S TRAITORS?

Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist leader, gives the key to critical events in Asia

FOREIGN POLICY DOUBLE-TALK

Washington charts its war program

by Joseph Starobin

SOCONY UEBER ALLES *by Samuel Putnam*

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Between Ourselves

NEW MASSES is happy to announce the addition of two new members to its editorial board. They are well-known to our readers and friends, and it gives us pleasure to welcome John Stuart and Joseph Starobin. Stuart is co-author with Bruce Minton of *Men Who Lead Labor* and *The Fat Years and the Lean.* Joseph Starobin has been an NM editorial writer and contributor to NEW MASSES for more than a year. Our board of editors will now include: Barbara Giles, A. B. Magil, Ruth McKenney, Bruce Minton, Joseph North, Joseph Starobin and John Stuart.

What were you doing on the afternoon of Feb. 16, 1911? You may, of course, have been non-existent, but on Feb. 16, 1941, thirty years later, you will probably be in Manhattan Center, if you live in New York. Three decades of publishing NM will be celebrated that afternoon, with speakers and entertainment. Earl Browder will speak, as will William Gropper, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Ruth McKenney, and others. Music and the dance will be in the capable hands of Earl Robinson, Billie Holliday, Anna Sokolow, and Laura Duncan.

That other February afternoon of 1911 a new periodical came on New York's streets, selling for five cents a copy or—to dealers—three for ten cents. It proclaimed itself "a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the working people." The format was an inch wider and longer than the present 9½" x 12½" page. The cover of dull olive paper was decorated with two powerful arms bearing aloft the socialist torch. Below the announcement of featured articles, modestly displayed, was the name, "The Masses Publishing Company," and the address, 112 East 19th St., New York.

The country was at peace but the *Masses* was campaigning against the threat of war then as now. An editorial leader announced that it would oppose militarism "wherever that evil crops up." One of the early features was a series on "Revolutionary Mexico" which seems strangely appropriate to this day. And the old *Masses,* with the same spirit as NM, tilted its lance against monopoly control in an article attacking and exposing the strategy of Teddy Roosevelt, the so-called trust buster. Those were the days before the Russian Revolution and the translation of Lenin's writings into English, but a *Masses* writer was then reviewing a book which answered questions about theoretical socialism, as it was then understood. In the body of the article was an Art Young illustration which contained these words: "The ordered restraints of socialism will endow mankind with a liberty which it has never before known."

Prophetic too was the caricature of Czar Nicholas II of Russia seated on a throne of skulls, opening the Pandora's box of hunger, famine, war, and revolt. Above this picture was a cartoon of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, parading on a beach of the North Sea. "So the Dutch Staten General have voted forty million florins for North Sea fortifications," read the caption. "This will come in handy when Germany and England get to scrapping."

Well, there you are—a magazine which for thirty years has kept its faith with its readers by maintaining its identity of interest with them and with the masses—after whom it was named. To crown this birthday celebration, the editors announce a 64-page special issue to appear on February 14. It will include contributions from outstanding persons in the contemporary political, literary, and art worlds, and reprints of a few famous contributions of the past. The print order has been increased to 100,000 from the 75,000 announced last week.

From two readers comes this request: "My wife and I are both elderly and cripples. We collect postage stamps and posters, US and foreign. If your readers will send us their cancelled stamps, it will help while away lonely and painful hours." The writer is Charles N. Wolfram, 11514 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.

Flashbacks

FLASHBACKS proposes in this day of the vanishing liberal that a special day be set aside to honor America's more resolute petition signers and that this day be January 23, the birthday of John Hancock, first signer of the Declaration of Independence. . . . The year (1737) and the month in which John Hancock first saw the light of day also marked the birth of another great figure of the American Revolution, Tom Paine. Arriving on these shores only two years before the Declaration of Independence (which he proposed), Paine was to become the chief propagandist and inspiration of the revolutionary forces. Ardent believer in the international cooperation of the revolutionaries of his day, Paine was a key figure in the French Revolution as well as in the American. And for the Aid-to-Britain boys who don't like the Tom Paines of 1941 here's what Tom thought of the British empire: "There will be no lasting peace . . . for the world until the tyranny and corruption of the English government be abolished." . . . Paine's birthday was Jan. 29, 1737. . . . On Jan. 28, 1918 the Red Army of workers and peasants came *into existence.*

Who's Who

MAO TSE-TUNG is one of the leading figures in the Chinese Communist Party. . . . Adam Lapin is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Frank T. Wallace is an economist, a frequent contributor to NM. . . . Isidor Schneider was formerly literary editor of NM and is the author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity.* . . . Francis Steuben is a writer and dance critic, whose reviews have often appeared in this magazine.

SAMUEL PUTNAM

Mr. Putnam, whose article on the cultural relations between Latin America and the United States begins on page thirteen of this issue, is one of the editors of the "Hand Book of Latin-American Studies," *published annually by Harvard University Press under the auspices of the Committee on Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. He is widely known as a contributor to learned reviews and other magazines in his field, at home and abroad. A member of the Inter-American Bibliographic and Library Association, he was personally invited by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in the fall of 1939, to participate in the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Publications and Libraries. Mr. Putnam will follow his current artirle with others, from time to time, on various phases of Latin-American culture.*

THIS WEEK

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notifications sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVIII JANUARY 28, 1941 NUMBER 6

A Travesty on 1776

AN EDITORIAL

1776 is the symbol of the American Revolution, of the great democratic war against British tyranny. Today it has been perverted into the symbol of the Roosevelt counter-revolution, of the reactionary war alliance with Britain against the equally unholy alliance of Germany and Italy. The new dictatorial lend-lease bill, HR 1776, is tagged "liberty," "democracy," "anti-fascism." Its real meaning is booty, power, war, fascism.

The panic-mongers were out in full panoply on the first days of the hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The administration has evolved a special technique in these matters, first tried out in connection with the conscription bill. This technique consists of attempting to overwhelm opposition by assaulting the public mind with lurid warnings, conjectures and fantasies that leap lightly over facts—political, military, geographic—and convert the mightiest imperialism in the world, the USA, into a second Holland or Belgium (to quote Secretary of War Stimson). The two Republicans, Stimson and Knox, are old hands at this game; and they had the assistance of Secretaries Hull and Morgenthau and GM's Knudsen. And it is assumed that while the panic propaganda is long, the public memory is short. When Secretary Stimson tells us, for example, that the new lease-lend bill must be passed because in sixty or ninety days Britain may go under, he takes it for granted that no one will recall that on July 31 he told the House Military Affairs Committee that the conscription bill must be passed because "in another thirty days Great Britain herself may be conquered and her shipyards pass under German control."

It is not the hypothesis itself that constitutes the lie, for, however improbable, it is remotely possible for British imperialism to be defeated within sixty or ninety days (though in that case nothing this country could do would be of any help). Nor is the basic untruth in the exaggerated deductions from this hypothesis concerning an imminent German invasion of the United States. The fundamental lie is the concealment of the fact that not German imperialism alone threatens the American people and the peoples of all countries, but the struggle for loot and world dominance among rival imperialisms, including that of the United States. It is capitalism, the profit-lust of a small group of supermonopolists, that is the aggressor everywhere. And the fascism of Berlin is a less immediate menace to this country than the fascism of Wall Street.

The fascism of Wall Street speaks with brutal arrogance in HR 1776. That is why Thomas W. Lamont's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies is for it. That is why the House of Morgan's favorite presidential candidate, Wendell Willkie, is for it, though, as leader of one faction of the war party, he finds it expedient to urge minor modifications that do not in the slightest modify the essential character and purpose of the bill. It is this kind of "opposition" to the measure that is today the great danger. Those Republicans and Democrats who seek a compromise with the administration by imposing a time limit on the authority granted or through other devices are merely perfuming the poison. *The fight must be waged against the bill as a whole and against the whole Roosevelt foreign policy of which it is the crowning consummation.*

The real opposition is developing outside of Congress. Writes Raymond Clapper, one of the bill's supporters, in the New York *World-Telegram* of January 17:

> I have just been talking with a visitor from a southern community which went six to one for Mr. Roosevelt in the last election, but he finds nearly everyone bewildered about this bill and the necessity for it. Senator Taft says his mail is running 40 to 1 against the bill. Of the mail which comes to me 99 percent is hostile and usually on the rough side. . . . The administration is a long way from having sold its idea to a vocal portion of the American public.

The great task is to make the American people even more articulate. It is they whose lives will be sacrificed, whose toil will be commandeered, whose liberties will be lost if the Roosevelt program, exemplified in this bill, is allowed to run its course. Especially must labor take the lead in the fight on this Hitlerite measure. Protests are beginning to come from both AFL and CIO unions, as well as other organizations, and the *Daily Worker* is performing an outstanding public service in publishing their statements. The American Peace Mobilization is holding a working conference for peace in Washington January 25-27 and a people's lobby February 1, to be followed by a nationwide peace march.

Already twenty-five to thirty senators are reported to be opposed to HR 1776. A vigorous campaign can swell this into a majority. "The administration will do its share of demagoguing," writes Raymond Clapper. The people, armed with the truth, must do their share of fighting. Victory on this issue may well turn the tide, may open the way to the building of a great people's movement which, together with the people of the belligerent nations, could frustrate the ambitions of the warring governments and assert the people's will to peace and freedom.

THE EDITORS.

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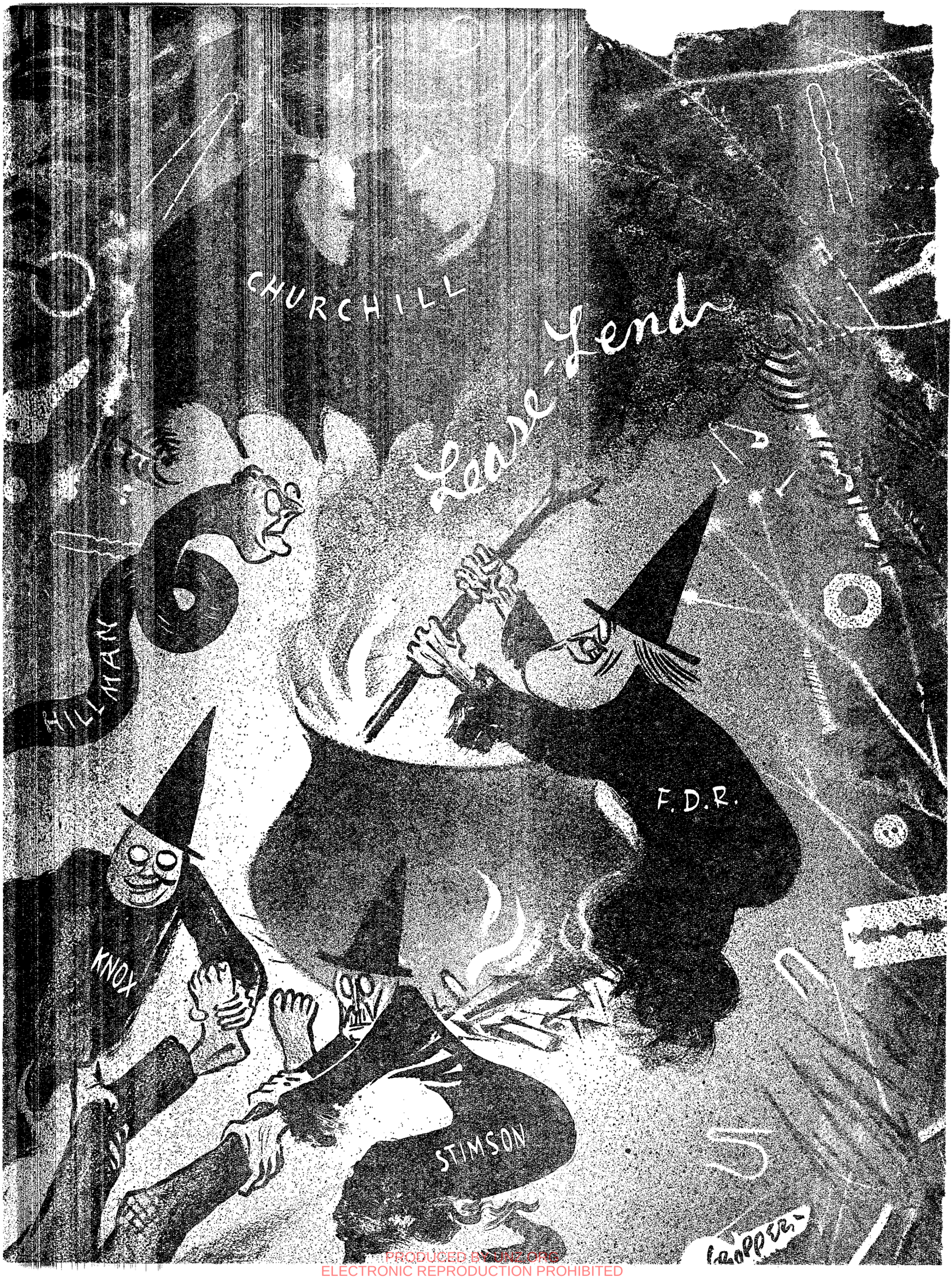

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Double-Talk in Foreign Policy

Washington charts its war program. What's behind the "lease-lend" bill. Joseph Starobin discusses the gamble for world domination.

H. R. 1776 is not just another bill in the Congressional hopper. It is not simply another request for unusual powers, or another demand for arms appropriations. This bill represents the climax, and inescapable consequence, of the entire trend of domestic and foreign policy since the Neutrality Act was revised a year ago November. In the face of this bill, our interpretation of the unprecedented peacetime draft, and the exchange of destroyers for bases is confirmed. This is not just another step toward war—*it is the President's request for an "undeclaration" of war.* With this bill, the distinction between peace and war disappears. Unwillingly and unwittingly, the American republic enters an era of undeclared warfare. The real objectives of this undeclared warfare are the secret of a handful of men. They dare not define their war aims for the people. And the logic of their aims is such that the cost, the locale, the outcome of this undeclared war are incalculable.

Not only does the distinction between peace and war disappear, but the basic constitutional structure of American democracy is undermined. The President evades the right of Congress to decide the issue of war or peace. He makes that decision superfluous. He substitutes instead a policy of unrestricted authority to use American armed forces, munitions, materials, and money wherever he pleases. By this bill, therefore, the balance between legislative and executive powers finally goes by the board, that balance which has so proudly been hailed in the past hundred years as the peculiar genius of American constitutional government. The system of capitalism, which grew up and flourished within the legal forms of bourgeois democracy is now—in the era of its ugly decline—bursting through and destroying the very forms which enabled it to flourish. With this bill we are governed by decrees, not laws. The Congress which passes this bill hands over to the President the power to dispense with Congress. And the most shameful irony of the whole business is that this bill bears the number—1776.

THE OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTIC of this fatal legislation lies in its unlimited powers. "Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law," it says, "the President may, from time to time, when he deems it in the interests of national defense, authorize the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the head of any other department or agency of the government—(1) To manufacture in arsenals, factories, and shipyards under their jurisdiction, or otherwise procure, any defense article for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States.

(2) To sell, transfer, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of, to any such government any such article.

(3) To test, inspect, prove, repair, outfit, recondition, or otherwise place in good working order any defense article for any such government.

(4) To communicate to any such government any defense information, pertaining to any defense article furnished to such government. . . .

(5) To release for export any defense article to any such government."

The bill goes on to say that the terms of these transactions "shall be those which the President deems satisfactory, and the benefit to the United States may be payment or repayment in kind of property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory." And the funds for all this will come "out of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated" in "such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of this Act." Finally, the President may, "from time to time, promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out the many provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him by this Act through such department, agency or officer as he shall direct."

As legal documents go, the language of this bill is as simple as its implications are terrifying. At his press conference last week, Mr. Roosevelt laughed off the idea that he might buy up the British Navy, or sell the American Navy. He pooh-poohed the exaggerations which various congressmen may deduce from this legislation. But the fact remains that the bill was written in the White House; its powers are unprecedented; so sweeping in fact that the question arises: why does he insist upon them at this time?

THE ANSWER LIES HIDDEN in the uncertainties of the next year of the war. It lies concealed in the ambitions of the men who own and rule America.

As things stand now, the vaunted statesmen of Europe, from the gangster Hitler to the buccaneer Churchill, are all of them haunted by misgivings over the immediate future. Each imperialism struggles for footholds against the other; each probes the other's allies; each tests the other's powers on sea and in the air. And as each imperialism moves to achieve a decisive stranglehold on the other, plunging millions of innocent bystanders to misery and death, each imperialism tries to calculate the chance of a victory such as will not destroy the common ground on which they wrestle, the imperialist five-sixths of the earth. For beyond their fury with each other, both antagonists are keenly aware of the presence of the socialist world, which challenges their system at its roots, whose growing strength and vigilant calm they resent and fear.

Distance lends enchantment to the rulers of American life. But distance also magnifies every misgiving and doubt. In this war, the men who rule America hope to complete the process begun a generation ago; they see the chance of achieving the undisputed leadership of the capitalist world. They are intoxicated with visions of enormous profit; they see the realization of their old dreams in South America and the Pacific almost at hand; they have found in the technique of aid to Britain the unholy device of undermining British imperialism by encouraging its struggle against a mortal rival; and by this same device they have found the rope with which to tie the American labor movement into knots. Salivating freely and breathing hard, all the great minds—the professors, soothsayers, cheerleaders, strip-teasers—of American imperialism crowd forward impatiently, "as the path of empire takes its way"; and as Virgil Jordan put it, "in modern terms of economic power as well as political prestige, the sceptre passes to the United States."

The rulers of the American life believe that the power of decision in the present war rests in their hands. But they are also aware of the fact that beyond the present war lies the most fundamental issue, involving the balance of world-relations between the systems of capitalism and socialism. In the current debate on HR 1776, they are trying to settle among themselves just how, just when, just where to throw their weight to decide the *present* war and at the same time guarantee their victory in the *larger* war beyond. However sharp their differences on this question, they are all agreed on one thing: that the American worker and farmer, on whose shoulders they stride and whose toil they manipulate, shall pay the cost of perpetuating imperialism at home by saving it abroad.

THERE IS, OF COURSE, A REAL PROBABILITY that the decision in the present war may be reached in 1941. Last July, it will be remembered, German imperialism asked for a truce. That plea was rejected, and the rejection was reflected in the exchange of American destroyers for British naval bases. The experience of September and October revealed that the German air force was unable to gain mastery over the islands; the intensified destruction on land and sea was insufficient to bring about a more favorable hearing of Hitler's second appeal for a truce. Thereupon, Germany concentrated on its "new order in Europe," and as Anne Hare McCormick, the

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New York *Times* feature writer, puts it "tried to sign the treaties of peace before having won the war." But here also, Herr Hitler has met with all sorts of problems. He was compelled to occupy Rumania; and the rest of his path through the Balkans is beset by all sorts of difficulties in politics and terrain. Fascist Spain is openly doing business with both belligerents, Mussolini's invasion of Greece has provided Great Britain the opportunity of regaining a foothold on the continent. In his African empire, Mussolini is definitely on the defensive, a fact which has not escaped the notice of Marshal Weygand, who holds control of the French empire and its armed forces. Italy, like Austria in the last war, is becoming an ally which demands more assistance than it gives. The signature of the tripartite agreement with Japan has not sufficed to impress either London or Washington. And so, although Germany has realized her control over *Mittel-Europa,* the fact remains that she cannot bring Britain to terms without breaking clear of the continent. Hitler must either invade the British Isles or reach a decisive position in the Near East. Otherwise the continent of Europe begins to consume its own flesh; the terrorization of the German and other subject peoples demands increasing attention; the initiative slips from Nazi hands. Without underestimating the reserves or the full force of German imperialism when unleashed, I think it is true that unless Hitler achieves a notably better position in the next year than he has today, he does not win the war.

Britain's position is more difficult than we realize, and in the long run, it is untenable. But by contrast with six months ago, it has certainly improved. The islands themselves are better fortified. The fleet retains control of the Mediterranean, which increases the chances that the foothold in Greece may become a real front. The resources of Canada are beginning to count; and little known to the rest of the world, British imperialism has been mobilizing its vast empire east of Suez in a real way. True enough, this contributes to the growth of capitalism in the colonies, and therefore feeds the centrifugal forces tearing the empire apart. But faced with the growing hostility of millions of colonial subjects and the resistance of the British folk on the islands, the Tories are still able to draw on the resources of a 300-year experience, not the least of which is the absolute servility of the Labor Party leadership. Assistance from the United States has not begun to arrive in real quantity, as the Foreign Policy Association report for January 1 admits. Nevertheless, the perspective of such aid is a force in itself. Excluding the possibility of popular upheaval in the rear of either opposing front, it can be said that unless the Nazis strike a decisive blow this year, they will stop winning the war and the British will stop losing it. This would prolong the war well into the next year, when the influence of American imperialism will overshadow the strength of both belligerents.

Ever since the election results, the [illegible] have called for an absolute assurance of American support for the year 1942. Nothing less than a full commitment, involving the transformation of American economy and American life will give the British confidence against the odds that face them this year. The late Lord Lothian's request for funds on his return from London, the hue and cry from every British minister for expanded supplies of every kind, the circulation of books by Harold Laski and H. N. Brailsford all bear the character of a real battle, what Lord Beaverbrook called "the Battle *for* America." And with the characteristic ruthlessness of an Elizabethan pirate, Churchill has not hesitated to threaten the United States with the alternative. In his speech to the Pilgrims Society, at the send-off for Lord Halifax, Churchill said:

> If cooperation between the United States and the British empire in the task of extirpating the spirit and regime of totalitarian intolerance wherever it may be found, were to fail, the British empire, rugged and embattled, might indeed hew its way through and preserve its life and strength for the inevitable renewal of the conflict on worse terms after an *uneasy truce.* [Italics mine. J. S.]

The language is a bit involved, but coming a day before the lease-lend bill was introduced, this bears the character of a threat to his American cronies. Whether that threat could be carried out is beside the point. The fact is that the logic of their "aid to Britain," their insatiable ambitions, their feverish desire to determine the course of events confront the rulers of America with making a choice.

BUT THEIR DESIRE FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP involves world responsibility. The present differences among them seem to revolve about their concept of world responsibility.

There is one group in the American bourgeoisie which believes Hitler's position to be so strong that the chances are he has already won the war. Therefore, they favor meeting Hitler on his own terms, namely by a ruthless fascization of the nation, by a gigantic rearmament, by outright domination of South America, by a cautious policy in the Pacific. Some of these forces are active in the America First Committee, and Charles Lindbergh is their clearest spokesman. They may or may not have contact with German agents. But they are certainly impressed with Germany's position as the most reactionary force in Europe. They hesitate to disturb that position. They would probably divide the British empire with Hitler, but oppose entrance into the war at this time.

The more influential spokesmen for American capitalism are divided into two other groups. And it is these men who are doing most of the talking today. The differences between them cut across party lines. For example, the President plus his two renegade Republican Secretaries of War and Navy are ringleaders of one group; they seem to have recruited Wendell Willkie also, although he may have been their fifth columnist in the other camp all the time. Mr. Kennedy, the Irish Catholic Democrat, Alfred Landon, the Midwest Republican, and perhaps Herbert Hoover are the leading spokesmen for the other side.

Both groups start from the same premise: that aid to Britain is a shrewd policy, a profitable policy, a policy which gives them time, an effective technique for getting the American people to do things that could not otherwise have been done. But they differ on many implications of this policy, which all add up to a difference in their concept of America's world responsibility.

There is for example a dispute over the terms of aid to Britain. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Morgenthau, who, as the phrase used to go, "never had to meet a payroll," disparage any over-harsh trading with the British. They insist on the importance of appearances. Their aims are so large that they wish to rise above the petty dickerings of the market-place; it would be hard to lead a crusade with dollar signs splotched all over the flag.

To Landon and Kennedy, the dollar is almighty. Mr. Kennedy is of the opinion that "the British ought to make available to us all the assets we can use." And with a real effort at generosity, he goes on to say that "if, after the resources of Great Britain were used up, it were still sound American policy to assist them, I prefer it would be done through outright gifts. . . ." Mr. Knudsen, torn between his aspirations to high statesmanship and his memory of General Motors, is caught between the two positions. In his testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, when questioned about collateral, he remarked rather wistfully: "Yes, it would be nice to have collateral, but aren't we a little beyond that now?"

Mr. Knox and Mr. Stimson are a particularly unscrupulous pair. They are completely cynical in their capacity for hysteria. They do not hesitate to twist even their own arguments when it suits their purpose. Last summer, for example, it was Mr. Knox who swore that sending the fifty destroyers across the seas was really a great idea since Mr. Churchill had promised that whatever happened, the British fleet would not fall into Hitler's hands. But last week Colonel Knox whistled another tune. In order to magnify the idea of the nation's complete helplessness unless the President has an absolute free-hand, Colonel Knox insisted that "should the British Isles fall, we can only believe that the British Navy, which never runs from danger, will fall at the same time." And Stimson obliged with a touch of hysteria, with his expert advice that America faces a crisis within sixty to ninety days. Back in August, when he helped stampede the draft, Stimson said it was only a matter of thirty days!

Kennedy and Landon recoil somewhat at such emotional frenzies. In his speech of January 18, Kennedy observed that even if it were true that Germany could gain control of the British fleet, it was not true that this country could be successfully invaded by sea. He

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pointed to the morning's headlines—Britain's difficulty convoying materials to Greece in the face of attacks from the air. But to the argument that a "foreign power might by guile, or coercion, or subversive activities secure the support of any country in this hemisphere," Kennedy displayed his own brass knuckles in these words: "We certainly have a right to expect that in their own self interest the other countries of the hemisphere will, through diplomacy or force, or both, insist that the principle of the Monroe Doctrine be maintained."

WHAT DIVIDES THESE GENTLEMEN is their estimate of the immediate future in the light of their world problems. Mr. Roosevelt and his friends, confronted by uncertainties in their relations with Churchill, wish to make things certain by a long-range commitment to Britain in every respect. HR 1776 would give them the instrument for such a commitment. They would use it to force Ireland's neutrality, to finagle with Franco, to discover new nations like Greece, which has become a democracy in direct proportion to the progress of Churchill's occupation of that country. Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, the megaphones of the White House, even tell us in their column for January 8 that "if the counselor of our embassy at Vichy, Robert Murphy, sends an encouraging report of his visit to Marshal Weygand the new system [HR 1776] will make it easy to include the French Mediterranean colonies among the nations we are ready to support." This, and much more is what the President means when he speaks of defending our way of life "everywhere in the world."

But his opponents are so uncertain of the next stage of events that they prefer a policy of caution. Faced with the same responsibility as Roosevelt, Kennedy is nevertheless worried stiff about "getting into a war which would preserve our ideals" but which "would then practically leave Russia alone outside the war area, getting stronger while the rest of the world approached exhaustion."

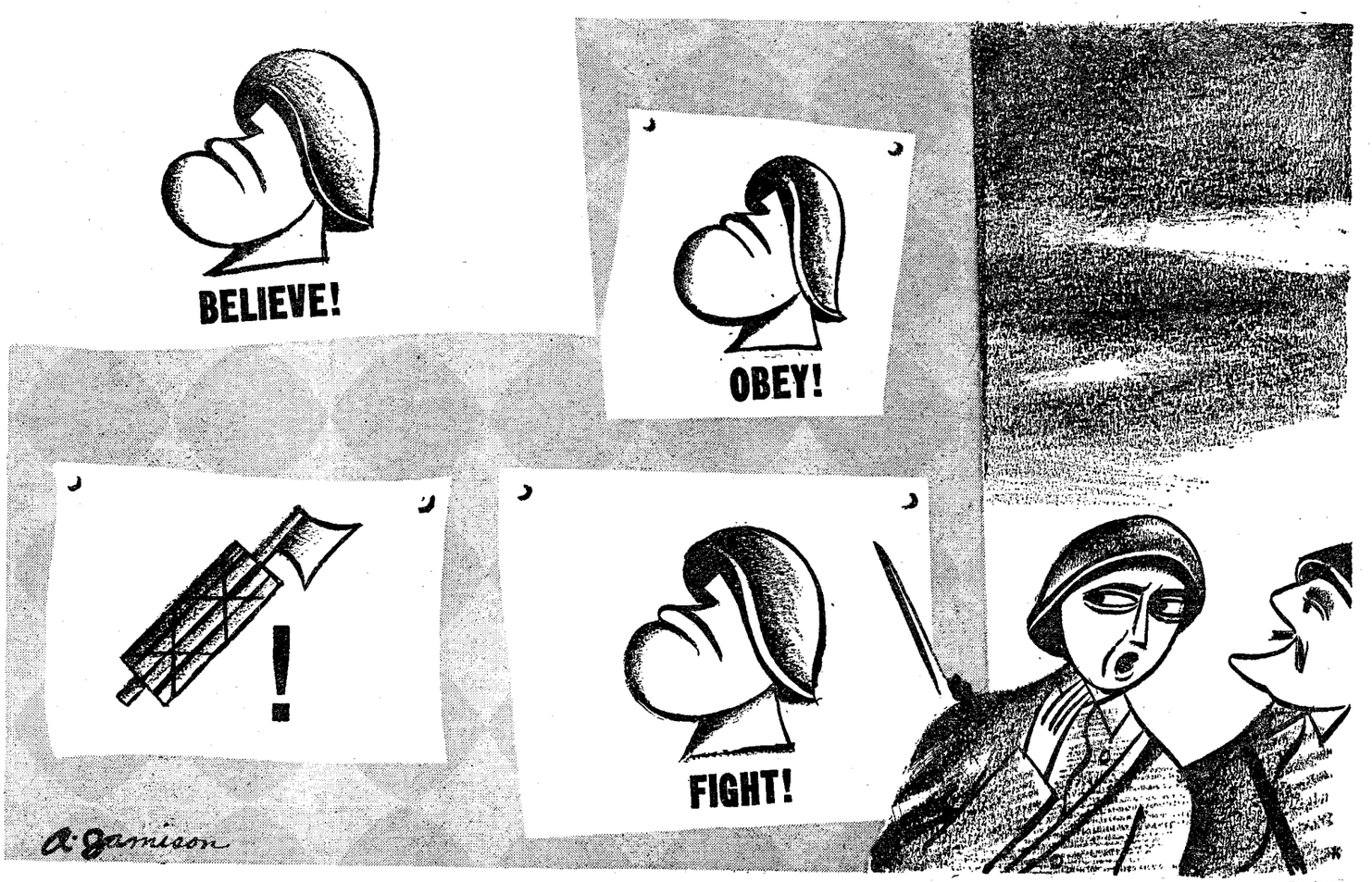
Mr. Roosevelt, however, and behind him the decisive sections of finance capital, are full of self-confidence and possessed with enormous vanity. He thinks it is possible to swing the balance toward Churchill, bring Hitler down, hold the capitalist system in Europe and Asia together, keep Japan on the fence, and bulldoze the American people all at the same time. But Mr. Kennedy is frankly worried that "to keep defeated Germany and the other countries from going communistic, we will have to organize them as well as ourselves, probably standing guard while this reorganization is taking place. I shudder to contemplate it. Are our children's and grandchildren's lives to be spent standing guard in Europe while heaven knows what happens in America?"

Thus, Mr. Kennedy's misgivings reflect Mr. Roosevelt's ambitions. *One group in the capitalist class is a mirror for the other.* As they riddle each other's arguments, they expose each other's innermost desires. They reveal for the American people and the whole world to see that their appeal to "democracy," to "liberty," to "the American standard of living" is sheer rhetoric which conceals evil calculations and ugly designs.

Men and women of good will have to strike out on a different course. It is not only the hardship, the suffering, the degradation which this war will bring that are our reasons for opposing it. The dynamic, the inevitable logic of this war is such that American youth will be brought into direct collision with the peoples of South America, with the peoples of Asia and Africa struggling for their sovereignty and freedom. And as though that were not horrible enough, this war will bring us into direct aggression against the peoples of central Europe as they rise up to throw off their bondage. The price of permitting the men who now rule America to continue on their path is the price of making the word "American" the most hated word in every human tongue.

The alternative is the only alternative worth fighting for: the defeat of both sides and the common victory of the common people. The men and women of Britain in their convention on January 12 have begun to show the way. Alongside of the firm neutrality of the Soviet Union, this convention is the most hopeful fact of the war thus far. But America has the key: whose America shall it be?

JOSEPH STAROBIN.



"When do we eat?"

Jamison

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Who Are China's Traitors?

Mao Tse-tung discusses the relationships between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The key to current events in China. International forces and the anti-Japanese war.

This speech by Mao Tse-tung, the world-famous Chinese Communist leader, was originally delivered at a mass meeting in Yenan, northwest China, on Feb. 1, 1940. It appears in English for the first time and has a special timeliness because it deals with the problems of China's United Front, which as our readers know, is now going through a crisis. Our editorial last week dealt with the situation in some detail. Mao's speech was delivered in a similar critical moment a year ago; things got better in the spring and summer, but under pressure from foreign powers, the situation again grew strained. Mao's analysis and advice, in its broad outlines if not in detail, will therefore be most valuable for all friends of China's battle.—The Editors.

MAO TSE-TUNG

COMRADES: The weather is very cold, yet the fact that so many have come out to this meeting proves that you are not afraid of the cold. With such a spirit we can discuss and arrive at an understanding of many questions.

We Communists have pointed out many times that the Japanese imperialists are determined to destroy China. Despite the many changes which the Japanese Cabinet has undergone, their fundamental program for the destruction of China's independence and the subjugation of our country to the position of a colony remains unchanged. For if they were to alter this policy, then the Japanese capitalists and war lords would cease to exist. In this situation, Wang Ching-wei, pro-Japanese traitor and political representative of the pro-Japanese big capitalists of China, is driven into a panic; he falls on his knees before his masters and signs a secret agreement with them for a wholesale betrayal of China. To fight against our anti-Japanese government, he tries to set up his own puppet government. To fight against our anti-Japanese armies, he wants to build up a puppet army. To fight against the anti-Japanese Kuomintang, he wants to organize a puppet Kuomintang. Wang Ching-wei's policies have three characteristics: (1) They are pro-Japanese; (2) they oppose Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek; and (3) they are anti-Communist.

Of late Wang Ching-wei has been silent on his anti-Chiang Kai-shek policy; and it is rumored that he wishes to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to join him. He wants to drag the generalissimo into the water with him, but sadly enough for Wang Ching-wei, Generalissimo Chiang sees through this trick. He knows it is but an effort on the part of Japan to stop the war, to split the Kuomintang, and, finally, to destroy him. And since Generalissimo Chiang is a very intelligent man, he understands the whole maneuver. That is why he refused the terms offered by Prince Konoye. That is why he has repudiated Wang Ching-wei's secret agreement with Japan. Further, he has urged the people of China to fight the Japanese aggressors to the bitter end. He has called upon those who dream of peace through surrender to wake up and face the real situation.

As to Wang Ching-wei's anti-Communist policy, it is plain to everyone that this is but another trick attempted by him and his masters. They know very well that the Communists of China are determinedly anti-Japanese; they know that cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang is a fundamental condition for the prosecution of the war. That is why they do their best to destroy this cooperation, to split the unity between these two parties. Hence they make use of a small group of obstinate people in the Kuomintang to light fires of provocation in many places. The Pingkiang massacre in Hunan was such an instance; the Choshan incident in Honan another.

In Shansi, the old army fights the new army. In Hopei, Chang Yen-wu led his men to battle against the Eighth Route Army. In Shantung, Chin Chi-yun fought against our guerrillas. In East Hopei, Chen Yu-huai had 600 Communists killed. In the Border Region of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia, internal friction developed, an outside blockade was imposed, and there are rumors of a military crusade to destroy the progressive forces there. In addition, thousands of false reports have been sent to the government to deceive Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and as a result thousands of progressive youth have been arrested and placed in concentration camps. Recently they employed such sophists as Chang Chun-li, leader of the National Socialist Party, and many others to advocate publicly the annihilation of the Communist Party, of the Border Region Government, of the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies. They also employed such Trotskyists as Yeh Ching to write articles against the Communists.

All these maneuvers have but one aim, that is, to split the United Front and to degrade the Chinese people to the position of slaves of Japan. And all of these are engineered by the big Chinese capitalists, by the defeatists and quondam defeatists.

Now I want to say something about the present situation. Many people are confused, believing that things are going from bad to worse and that there is no hope for improvement. I should say that to think this way is entirely incorrect. Time and time again our Communist Party has pointed out that it is equally possible to change the situation for the better, or for the worse. These two possibilities clearly exist.

We believe that the objective conditions both within China and abroad make it possible for China to be rejuvenated, and that the country can be swung in the direction of progress. Either we do that or the life of our nation will be extinguished. In June of 1938, I wrote a little book called *The Protracted War*. In November of the same year I wrote another book called *The New Stage*. In both books I discussed the theory of China's so-called inevitable ruin, and that of an early conclusion of the war. I also dealt with the Kuomintang, saying that most of its members have a brilliant future ahead of them, while prospects are dark for only a small portion of the party. These, of course, are not only my personal opinions; they are also the opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. And these are not only the opinions of a single party such as ours, but of the people of the whole country. And the fact that the majority of our people welcome the opinions and proposals of the Communist Party proves that these theories are correct.

Of course, not everyone agrees with my opinions. When those two books I mentioned were published, many people doubted our theories, and even now there are still many who remain doubtful. The obstinate elements in the Kuomintang, in particular, are creating provocation everywhere, propagating so-called "measures to control the activities of alien parties," "practical programs to check other parties," and so on. This business is very queer, is it not? The fomenting of surrender has confused many people. They do not know how to distinguish the majority from the minority. They do not see the minority of scoundrels, and the majority of anti-Japanese elements. Yet, beyond question, we must take proper measures against conscienceless scoun-

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drels, the people who attack the rear of the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies, the people who instigated the Pingkiang massacres and the Choshan incidents, the saboteurs and the plotters against the Border Region, the people who dare to fight against the progressive armies and who wish to destroy progressive organizations and progressive people.

Of course, we shall not permit such activities, for if we do, unity will be split, the war of resistance will fail, and China will be ruined. In truth, the conduct of these people is that of traitors. Some of these people have been traitors all along, hiding under cover. If these people who dare to attack the progressive forces are not punished, then we can say that their crimes are condoned and that they are given license to be traitors. That is why we regard as good friends all those who are loyal to the anti-Japanese war, those who are not defeatists, those who are not obstinate, even though they are not Communists. We regard most of the Kuomintang members as good friends. We do our best to unite with them; we respect them and are willing to cooperate with them indefinitely in order to build up our great country. Anyone who tries to set this fact aside is unable to protect the united front and thus violates the policy of our Party.

You may ask: how can we overcome the Japanese by following the path of progress, and why are we certain we can do this? To explain, I must review the objective conditions both in China and abroad which favor our victory.

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

First of all, there now exist in China the Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army, and the New Fourth Army. No matter who wants to surrender or to rebel against our government, we shall not compromise but will fight such people to the bitter end.

Second, the majority of the Kuomintang members oppose surrender to Japan; they insist upon pushing forward the anti-Japanese war, maintaining unity and progress. Aside from the defeatists, the anti-Communists, and the obstinate elements within the Kuomintang, most of the members are loyal and trustworthy.

Third, all of the people throughout China, all the parties, the political groups, and the progressive anti-Japanese elements oppose surrender, splitting, and retrogression. These are the objective conditions existing within China.

Fourth, Japan's program for the subjugation of China is very harsh. The Japanese warlords and capitalists offer the people of China their choice between annihilation or fighting for liberation; there is no other alternative.

Fifth, the situation abroad has greatly changed since the outbreak of the European war. That war has reduced the power of Britain and France in the Far East, and it is therefore impossible, for the moment, to carry through a Far Eastern Munich. Of course, this is a disappointment to a great many people; that is why, in the first half of last year, there were a number of people who hoped to solve the China "incident" by calling a conference of the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty; but as soon as the war in Europe started, they changed their tune, saying that China's problems must be solved simultaneously with the European war.

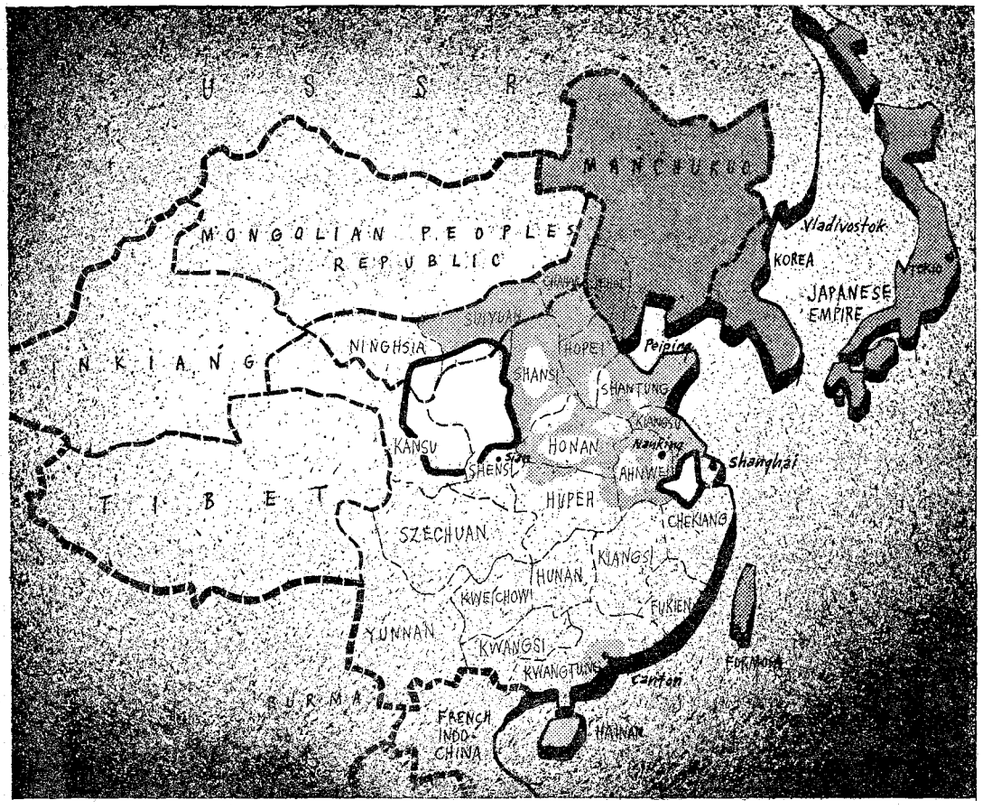
Perhaps in the near future the capitalist powers abroad may force Japan to yield up part of the booty and give them a share of the spoils, and this will be done in the name of the Open Door policy. Because, you must know, the foreign capitalists understand that as time goes by Japan's economy will no longer be able to maintain the war. They look forward to this profitable arrangement hand-in-hand with the big Chinese capitalists who are pro-European and pro-American. (Incidentally, I want to make it plain that there is a great difference between these capitalists and the pro-Japanese capitalists.) These native and foreign capitalists act in concert, so that the danger of compromise with Japan is not yet over. There are still those who have advocated surrender, although for the time being they are silent. But their old song will be sung again some day in the not too distant future. For the moment, there is still a very serious conflict of interest among England, the USA, and France and between these powers and Japan. And for us, these conflicts favor our turning the present situation in favor of progress.

Sixth, a strong Soviet Union with a positive policy of assistance to China must also be counted upon in the solution of world problems. It should by now be plain to everybody that the European problems cannot be solved secretly, without the participation of the Soviet Union. The same is true of the Far East problems. Those people who entertain fantasies of an anti-Soviet crusade are impractical philosophers. This is one of the important conditions which helps China march along the path of progress.

UNITY AND PROGRESS

When we examine these factors we find no foundation for pessimism and disappointment. Yes, I repeat, we must not be pessimistic or disappointed. We must be firm. We must not fear the defeatists nor the attacks of anti-Communist forces. On the contrary, we have to destroy and we must destroy them. It is certain that the Chinese people will be liberated. China will not be ruined. It is certain that China will make progress, and that this temporary retrogression is but a detour in the general course of progress.

Today, through this meeting, we want to make clear our attitude to the whole of our Party and to the people of China. On the principle that the war of resistance comes before all else, we want to emphasize also that unity and progress come before all else. There are many people who lay great stress upon the war of resistance, but who do not realize the necessity for unity and progress. This is incorrect. Within the Kuomintang the obsti-



Shaded areas show Japanese penetration of China. White spots within lighter shading indicate guerrilla warfare area behind Japanese lines. Note the white regions in heavy black borders. In the northwest lies the Special Administrative District where the Eighth Route Army is based. Behind Shanghai is the region which the New Fourth Army recaptured from Japan. Here some reactionary Chungking officials are making trouble for China's front.

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nate elements (obstinate as I defined them) emphasize unity, a unity in form but not in reality. What do they mean, many ask? By unity these people mean abolition of the Communist Party, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, and the Border Region Government. They want to persuade all Chinese and the Kuomintang to support a one-party dictatorship and to enlarge it. How can that be called unity?

To speak plainly, had it not been for the Communists, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and the Border Region, all of whom honestly advocated the cessation of civil war and a war of resistance against the Japanese, the Anti-Japanese National United Front would not have been formed, the Sian incident would not have been solved peacefully, and therefore there would have been no one to carry on the anti-Japanese fight. Today, if there were no Communists, no Eighth Route Army, no Border Region Government, our country would be in chaos.

The Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies are holding at bay two-fifths of the Japanese forces in China—seventeen out of forty Japanese divisions. These two armies receive pay of only $730,000 a month; the Eighth Route Army receives $600,000 and the New Fourth $130,000. Since Chinese currency has dropped to half of its pre-war value, each soldier is receiving on the average less than one dollar a month. Why should such soldiers be abolished?

The Border Region is the most progressive area in China, a territory functioning democratically, a base for the anti-Japanese war. Here there are no corrupt officials, no corrupt landlords and gentry, no gambling, no prostitution, no concubinage, no beggars, no profiteers, no despair, no scoundrels who live by creating friction and profit from the national crisis. Why should it be abolished?

THE UNITED FRONT

Only shameless people can speak shameless words. With what qualifications do the obstinate elements speak ill of us? Comrades, the Border Region must not be abolished! On the contrary, the whole country should learn from the Border Region. The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies cannot be abolished; on the contrary, all of China's armed forces should learn from them. The Communist Party cannot be abolished; on the contrary, the whole people should learn from it. The progressives must not be dragged down to the level of the backward; on the contrary, the backward should hurry to keep up with the progressives.

We Communists are the most enthusiastic advocates of unity. We initiated the United Front. We strengthened it and we raised its slogans. Who else could have done that? Who else could have carried it out? Who else could institute such an honest and thrifty political administration? Yes, some people talk about unity. The defeatists have their own special interpretation of unity. They ask us to unite with the defeatists, the anti-Communists, and the obstinate elements. They want us to unite with destruction and retrogression. Shall we do as they wish? A unity which halts the war of resistance, a unity without progress as its basis, cannot be called a real and living unity.

Another purpose of our meeting today is to correctly understand what "unity" means. In our interpretation, unity means that all the people of China who have a conscience must be unified. And this unification must be based upon the war of resistance and upon progress. Only when progress is achieved, can we speak of unity. Only when unity is achieved, can we speak of the war of resistance. Only when progress and unity are achieved together, can we speak of the unification of the nation. This is our interpretation of unification, unification that is genuine, reasonable, and practical. Other interpretations are worked out by men without conscience. They want to force everybody into one single party. Actually, this is an intrigue to establish a dictatorship while pretending unification. Such talk of unity is merely camouflage for dictatorship. Those who have no faith, who present such fantastic ideas, are entirely devoid of a sense of shame. We must oppose all those who hide under this camouflage.

THE TASKS AHEAD

We must decidedly oppose the obstinate elements, but at the same time we must work to strengthen the unity of all progressive people. If we are to achieve this aim, we have many tasks ahead. Not long ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party held a meeting at which a resolution setting forth ten important tasks was adopted. These are as follows:

1. We must expose universally all Wang Ching-wei and traitor propaganda, tear off all the camouflage covering defeatists and splitters, beat down the defeatists and anti-Communists politically and ideologically. We must declare and prove conclusively that anti-Communism is the first mark of the reactionary, devised by the defeatists in order to bring about surrender to the enemy.

2. We must by all means strengthen the united front of all political parties, of all political leaders, military forces, cultural workers, and citizens of our nation. We must follow the path of progress. We must cooperate cordially with the majority of the Kuomintang in order to beat down the defeatists and the anti-Communists.

3. We must promote the movement for a constitutional government, for the introduction of democratic politics. Without democracy, we cannot achieve the final victory in the war of resistance.

4. We must fight against any form of surrender, and against the attacks of anti-Communist forces, against all defeatist groups, anti-Communist groups, and obstinate elements. We will not attack anyone, so long as we are not attacked. But if we are attacked, then we shall offer a decided counter-attack, for otherwise the united front will be split and our anti-Japanese war will be frustrated.

5. We must encourage the anti-Japanese mass movement on a large scale. We must unify all anti-Japanese intellectuals with the anti-Japanese mass movement, and with anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare. If we do not, we shall not be strong enough to beat down the defeatists and the obstinate elements.

6. We must drastically reduce land rent, interest, taxes, and improve the living conditions of the workers. We must help the people by democratic economic measures. If we do not, then it will be impossible to arouse enthusiasm for the war of resistance.

7. We must strengthen and enlarge all anti-Japanese military bases. In these bases, we must set up completely democratic regimes, in which the defeatists and anti-Communists can have no part. These should not be regimes of peasants, alone, or of workers or petty bourgeoisie; but they must be governments of all the people who support the war of resistance, and who stand for democracy and human rights. They must be anti-Japanese United Front administrations. They must be the local governments of several united, revolutionary, and democratic classes. All plots to destroy the anti-Japanese military bases must be wiped out. All traitors or anti-Communists hiding within the anti-Japanese forces, within the anti-Japanese governments, within the anti-Japanese organizations, must be cleaned out.

8. We must strengthen and enlarge the progressive armies. Without these armies, China cannot exist.

9. We must promote the anti-Japanese cultural movement on a broad scale; and we must improve the cultural level of the anti-Japanese troops and their staffs. Without a cultural struggle to coordinate the anti-Japanese military forces, we cannot win final victory in the war.

10. We must fortify the organization of the Communist Party. In places where there is no Party organization, or where it is very weak, we must strengthen it or set up a new one. Without a strong Party, we cannot solve any of the serious problems of the anti-Japanese war nor of our national salvation.

If the above tasks are fully and correctly carried out, then we can improve the present situation; we can check the bad tendencies and destroy the intrigues aimed at splitting the united front, sponsored by the defeatists among the big capitalists.

Comrades, these are the ten important tasks outlined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. What do you think of them? We believe that they constitute the very medicine that will cure the dangerously ill patient. These are the ten tasks undertaken by the Central Committee. But they are not to be carried out only by the Communists. They are tasks for the people of the whole of China; because the present dangers concern not only the Communist Party, but the whole people. Of course, the Japanese imperialists do not welcome these ten tasks, nor does Wang Ching-wei, nor do the anti-Communists, nor do the obstinate elements. They cannot welcome them, and we should not care to please them—rather let them be offended.

MAO TSE-TUNG.

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Mr. Cox Finds a Friend

The Bourbon congressman from Georgia patches up his quarrels with the White House. A few cats out of the bag. What Joe Kennedy is afraid of.

Washington.

AT A meeting of the Rules Committee or in debate on the House Floor, Rep. Gene Cox of Georgia is a mean adversary. Immaculately dressed with a pince-nez dangling from his vest and a thick crop of graying hair combed straight back, he affects a stern, patrician dignity, even an air of disdain at having to participate in the legislative hurly-burly. This does not keep him, of course, from staring down, shouting down, or insulting an opponent. Cox is a rabble rouser for the Southern tories in Congress. He is also their thinker and strategist. He has for years been their real leader in the House. Cox was once the most intransigent foe of the administration in Congress. He never accepted or condoned a single progressive measure. Now he is one of the most important supporters of the administration's foreign policy, and particularly of the lend-lease bill. He predicts with authority that the whole Southern group of 100-odd congressmen will go down the line for the President.

Cox frequently likes to have a nice philosophical chat about things in general with friends or with newspapermen. He talks freely and in quiet reflective tones that are quite different from his usual congressional manner. Within the last few days he has done considerable thinking out loud about administration foreign policy. He admits freely that he had his doubts when the President first proposed revision of the Neutrality Act. He still has the highest regard for the reviews expressed by former Ambassador Joe Kennedy, and he understands Kennedy's misgivings about the ultimate survival of capitalism after a long war. But he is now saying that he has come to the conclusion that this is essentially a war for the preservation of capitalism, that only Great Britain and the United States can save capitalism on a world scale. Incidentally, Cox, in private conversation, uses the word capitalism, not western-civilization-as-we-know-it or our-democratic-way-of-life.

"I am for the President now because he has got the Communists on the run," Cox said recently to friends. "Communism and the martial spirit don't mix. The Communists are taking a licking right down the line." Cox' definition of Communism is rather inclusive, of course. He believes that trade unions and progressive movements of all kinds have been set back immeasurably by the President's "defense" program, and that his own ideas have staged a come-back for the first time in many years.

COX, ONE OF THE KEY HOUSE LEADERS of the aid-to-Britain forces, thinks the war is good for capitalism. Joe Kennedy, the darling of the big business appeasers, thinks it is bad for capitalism. As Kennedy emphasized repeatedly in his radio speech, he is afraid that a prolonged war will mean the spread of Communism in Europe and the strengthening of the Soviet Union. He pointed out that even a victorious British-American coalition will face the job after a long war of putting down social revolution in country after country.

What Kennedy did not say in his speech was that he fears that the British partner in such a victorious team would make a stronger bid for world trade than is generally considered possible, as the result of a large, trained labor force kept in check by reliable leaders of the Bevin type. He is not worried about the elimination of democracy in Great Britain because of an abstract regard for constitutional government, but because of a strong respect for the competitive powers of a fascist, militarized regime in Britain after the war. Kennedy stated this rather clearly in his confidential report to the President which has been circulating around in government circles; and while there has been some comment on Kennedy's report as a whole, this particular point seems to have escaped attention. Kennedy put it this way:

"Whatever the effects of the war may be upon the share-out of the nation's wealth, Britain at the end of a successful conflict seems likely to have a well disciplined labor force with a large skilled reserve and a trade union movement trained in the stern realities of economics and actively participating in government. With an industrial plan in which much of the waste, much of the antiquated procedures, and much excess baggage will be sloughed off, British labor may well be in a position to give any overseas competitors a run for their money."

In his radio speech and in his report, Kennedy has given expression to most of the ideas of the respectable opponents of the lend-lease plan—just as Cox expressed the ideas of its big business supporters. The thinking of the reactionary Republican isolationists corresponds almost completely with Kennedy's. They endorse his demand for squeezing the British harder to come across with economic concessions, his support of the huge arms program, his emphasis on "work" and "sacrifice." Because Kennedy has stated a general position, he has made it easier to understand why there has been an unreal quality about much of the official opposition to the President's plan. There is too much agreement between the two sides on the fundamentals of a militarized American economy and an aggressive imperialist policy. Gene Cox and Joe Kennedy are not so far apart. There is disagreement only on the tactics, the timing, the technique to be used in attaining similar objectives.

THERE HAS BEEN NO REAL FIGHT by many of the old-line isolationists. Senator Hiram Johnson, the only remaining patriarch of the isolationists now that Borah is gone, has been puttering around the Senate mumbling that he and his colleagues are fighting for a lost cause. He has been predicting that there will be no more than nine or ten votes against the lend-lease bill, as against predictions of twenty-five or thirty votes, as things now stand, by many experienced correspondents. Rep. George Holden Tinkham, the veteran lion-hunter from Boston's Back Bay, has been muttering into his beard about the glories of the isolationism of another day. Rep. Ham Fish, that erstwhile passenger in Ribbentrop's plane, has stated that his principal criticism of the administration's foreign policy is that it has not been strong enough in enforcing the Monroe Doctrine, not quick enough in grabbing British real estate in the Western Hemisphere. Rep. John Vorys of Ohio, one of the younger Republican isolationists, thinks the whole problem would be solved if the informal British-American agreements were incorporated in a regular, traditional treaty. A Yale graduate and a promising young lawyer, Vorys is full of bright ideas. He once sponsored an amendment to exempt the dead horse industry from the Wage-Hour Act.

When the President first proposed that he take over unlimited powers of waging undeclared war, these isolationist heroes planned to make their chief struggle around the demand for a two-year time limitation. The administration has cut the ground from under their feet by indicating that it would accept some such amendment. But the Ham Fish boys will probably find some equally insignificant issue for a last-ditch, never-say-die battle.

It will be recalled that there was a similar situation last summer when the conscription bill first came. The opposition in Congress was hesitant and inarticulate. It gained strength only when the people back home spoke up in bulging mail bags, when organized farm, labor, and church groups swung into action. Even then Senator Wheeler, whatever his limitations and inconsistencies, was one of the few opposition leaders who was able to understand or give expression to the mass anti-conscription movement. Yet the fight against conscription became a real fight. It may happen again on an even larger scale if the people wake up fast enough to the implications of the lend-lease bill. An effective battle against the President's latest proposal will have to challenge the fundamentals of his entire road-to-war. Neither Joe Kennedy nor Gene Cox will welcome an honest-to-goodness struggle of this kind under progressive and labor leadership. But it is the only way to win.

ADAM LAPIN.

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Strictly Personal

by RUTH McKENNEY

Lenin, Our Own

I DON'T suppose it's a thing to take very seriously, but just for your information, *Time* magazine celebrated the anniversary of Lenin's death this year by calling him "the first fascist." I expect Lenin's reputation will survive this lie, and I wouldn't mention the matter at all, except that it points an interesting little moral—other times, other methods, or as they say in French—but I forget the French.

For the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie have been working out on Lenin now for some twenty-three years and more, and the history of their quaint little fibs about the great leader of the world working class would make a fascinating dossier for some sociologist.

They started off, of course, with the clarion cry, "German Spy, Dirty Old Hun!" But after the armistice the German spy story rather died down, and the intellectual bootlickers for the upper classes looked around for more strings to their bow. The New York *Times,* Wall Street's prize package for America, went in for a little heavy-duty wishful thinking. Everybody knows how they had Lenin dying and being bombed and being mobbed by the Russian people for years and years. Unfortunately for them, however, Lenin survived their dirty looks, and Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz, present *Times* editor, even wrote a book saying how naughty the *Times* had been. Those were the days!

But while the respectable *Times* toyed with happy notions of Lenin dead, Lenin exiled, etc., etc., lesser but more virile American papers were not idle. The Bridgeport *Herald* carried an engaging little item back in September 1922 to the general effect that Lenin, single-handed, had ruined the virtue of practically every maiden in Moscow and was now surveying the countryside for fresh victims. The Red Army was reported to have dropped all its other duties to go into the White Slave racket, so that Master could have his daily dozen. And I have the clipping, too. I forgot to say there was a friendly little hint about Lenin's taste in food. "Some say," the journalist wrote for the front page, "that this Red Monster also dines on human flesh, but as I have not yet seen him do this, I will not vouch for its authenticity." Exclamation point!

A few weeks later, another Bridgeport paper added to the country's enlightenment by publishing a featured article describing Lenin, the Sadist. The reporter cabled (from Vilna, Poland) that Lenin ground out his cigar stubs in the bare palms of children unlucky enough to be skipping merrily down the street as this Ogre approached. Red Army men held back the enraged populace when passersby tried to stop the outrage. Careful readers will be interested in the similarity of this pleasant tale to Trotsky's more recent little fable about Stalin blowing smoke into the eyes of his infant son. And NEW MASSES readers anyway won't be surprised to know that Trotsky's other hair-raiser, the story of Stalin watching pigs slaughtered every[illegible]ing *for the fun of it,* is also rather [illegible]at. Two Cleveland papers attributed th[illegible] teresting habit to Lenin, back in 1921.

Even the best of horror stories n[illegible]t pale in the end, however, and Lenin's e[illegible]mies in this country suddenly abandoned the cigar butt and ruined maidens fancies for a new gambit. Lenin died, and our Wall Street toadies romped cheerfully into a new myth. You will remember, Lenin was supposed (by our local masterminds) to have owned Russia and bequeathed it down to the last stock, barrel, and stave to that Prince of Villains, Monsieur Trotsky. Max Eastman was mixed up in this fanciful business. And hundreds, nay thousands, of American editors wept bitter tears when Stalin "stole" the juicy plum, Russia, from the rightful heir, Mr. Trotsky.

Meantime the Russian people, with horrid calm, remained unconcerned. For despite the opinions of the New York *Herald Tribune,* the Russians stubbornly persisted in believing that Lenin stood for Party democracy and left the election of his successor to his comrades, the Russian workers. And acting on this backward point of view, the Bolsheviks elected Stalin General Secretary and later proceeded to complete the first Five-Year plan. "Lenin Betrayed!" the American headlines roared.

This was just the beginning, of course. Throughout the whole next decade, liberals, Social-Democrats, Trotskyites, Wall Street bond salesmen, and other gentlemen of similar stripe shed gallant, broken-hearted tears to the memory of the dear dead Lenin they had learned to love too late. The *Nation* and *New Republic* were full of angry howls from the boys who deplored the industrialization of Russia. Lenin wouldn't have liked this one bit, they snapped, as they bit their fingernails. With his eye on the best-seller market, Trotsky wrote a long book, to prove that Lenin trusted him, conveniently suppressing the many articles Lenin wrote for his comrades, saying that Trotsky was a betrayer of the working class. For ten years and more Lenin was hypocritically snatched to the bosom of about the worst set of scoundrels ever to darken the American political scene.

And then watch the boom, boys, here comes another tack. With the outbreak of the second imperialist war, these gentry got nervous. As a matter of fact, they even forced themselves to mooch through a few pages of the collected works, which had stood so long uncut on their library shelves. And were they surprised! They had been nursing a viper, a veritable Communist revolutionary next to their chests—and they ran for cover quick. I remember, indeed, a famous interview between a gent who had just turned yellow and two of his old and horrified friends. "But, Roy, old boy," they cried. (That wasn't his real name.) "You always said you were a Leninist. And you know what Lenin wrote about imperialist war."

"What?" said dear old Roy.

So friend No. 1 reached for Roy's leather bound edition of *The Imperialist War* and read a few paragraphs here and there.

"I don't believe it!" cried Roy.

Friend No. 1 read some more.

"Let me see," cried Roy, snatching the book, "I never read that before." And he hadn't eith[illegible] It was quite a blow to him, having [illegible]p Lenin like that.

Of c[illegible]st casting Lenin out into the cold wa[illegible]gh for the gang. As soon as they got their second wind they hatched up this plot about Lenin, the fascist. It turned up first in the *New Republic* in a book review by a journalist something less than first class.

To which I guess we can all say ho-hum. *Time* magazine brings up slightly in the rear with its version of Lenin, but then, Whittaker Chambers, who did the little piece, is not exactly the world's greatest whiz-brain. Slow but sure Chambers, we used to call him; he ain't clever, but he's sure persistent.

And of course the interesting angle to this long history of vilification is that it didn't work in 1920, or 1930, and it's not working in 1941. For Wall Street may scream and complain and lie, but the clear, beautiful memory of Lenin lives on forever. How many lies have been written about Lenin in every language, in every country! And yet, after all these years, the very word Lenin is a battle-cry, a song, a hope, to the working people everywhere in the world. He is dead seventeen years, and yet his words leap out of the printed page into the hearts and minds of the millions of oppressed and suffering.

Time magazine stoops to assault the dead Lenin. But we know why, and we are proud. For Lenin's soul, like our own John Brown, goes marching on, across oceans and mountains and deserts. *Time* magazine is afraid of Lenin, afraid of his words and his spirit. They tremble, and call him "fascist," but we turn to Lenin in these dark and suffering days and across the years and half the world, we reach out, proudly, to call him "Comrade."

For he is our own.

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Whose Culture for Latin America?

Socony ueber alles. A scion of the oil monopoly is made "coordinator" of inter-American cultural relations. Samuel Putnam traces the progressive ties that bind two continents.

IN THESE dark days of war—days laden with menace, with portent, and with an unconquerable hope—Americans, amid all the new and bewildering problems that are being forced upon them, find themselves suddenly made aware of Latin America and Latin-American culture. This awareness, functioning reciprocally between the peoples of the northern and southern continents, is in itself something altogether to be desired. For more than a century, patient, painstaking scholars, and a number of the finest creative minds which the two great civilizations of the Western Hemisphere have produced, have labored to bring about just such a state of affairs. Their effort has been a consistently uphill one, and has received in the past little more than lip-service and a limited and by no means disinterested support from the governments involved. The various agencies set up, the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union, the recently created Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department at Washington, even the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, have been, and still are, compelled to operate on a pitiful financial shoe string. The vast public, meanwhile, north and south, has remained ignorant of the existence of these agencies, to say nothing of their work.

"COORDINATOR OF CULTURAL RELATIONS"

And now, of a sudden, in connection with the war drive, one objective of which is obviously a course of imperialist aggrandizement at the expense of our southern neighbors, the people of the United States rub their eyes as they are told that they must, overnight as it were, become conscious of Latin-American life and culture. At the same time our own "culture," in allopathic doses, is being sent out over the air waves, by way of the motion picture screen, the printed page, and every available medium, for Latin-American consumption. And to make sure that all is as it should be, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, grandson of John D. Rockefeller, is called to Washington as a dollar-a-year man, is presented with a three-and-a-half-million-dollar appropriation, and is given a free hand and presumably full control over all inter-American cultural activities. Mr. Rockefeller's official title is "Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics for the Council of National Defense." What the other "American republics" had to do with it is not clear; for Mr. Rockefeller was appointed by President Roosevelt, and is directly responsible to him alone. This, it may be observed, is hardly a democratic beginning, and inspires not a great deal more confidence than does the combination of "culture" and "commerce" in the hands of one "coordinator"—a word that has its unpleasant connotations from Hitler's Germany.

The repercussions have not been slow in coming; but to date the reaction has been limited chiefly to specialists in the field of Latin-American scholarship, on the one hand, and to the press of Latin America on the other hand. These reactions will be considered in more detail later on. As for the average North American, it may safely be said that he has not so much as heard of Mr. Rockefeller and his aides (there has been rather surprisingly little publicity on the subject). Indeed, it is remarked in Washington that Congress has yet to discover them. All the ordinary citizen knows is, as has been said, that there is a "drive on," and that he is supposed, patriotically, to manifest an interest in anything or everything "south of the border," from the latest rumba or tango to the painting of Candido Portinari. Scenting the fashion, if not deftly guided from above, the women's clubs of the country are swinging into line; and from a correspondent in Lawrence, Kan., comes word that each of the twenty-one organizations of this type in a city of 14,000 is clamoring for lecturers and material on Latin America!

The short of the matter is, whatever the motives of those at the top, the interest of North Americans in the civilization to the south of us has been definitely aroused, and is bound to grow in the months and years that are to come. The importance of seeing that this interest is legitimately satisfied, and not perverted or exploited for reasons alien to the cause of a true culture, scarcely needs to be pointed out. But before an adequate criticism can be made of the government's present program, or an intelligent discussion launched with respect to aims, methods, and a possible alternative program, it is imperative that we first go back and review briefly the history of inter-American cultural relations.

It was, most significantly, under the sign of liberty and democracy that the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon cultures of the Western Hemisphere were at last brought together at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after they had grown up side by side, with no contact for hundreds of years, throughout the entire colonial period. This early lack of intercourse was due to two causes primarily: the influence of the Catholic Church hierarchy, which feared the democratizing influence from the north; and the closed economic policy of the Spanish empire. It was as a result of the national liberation struggles of the Latin American peoples that the first inter-American cultural contacts were effected, when, in the year 1806, the great liberator, Simon Bolivar, and the Venezuelan patriot, Francisco Miranda, visited this country. And it was, confessedly, the democratic ideals of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin which drew them here. The ice had thus been broken; but for the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the cultural inter-change between the northern and the southern continents continued to be, on the whole, "meager and sporadic," as one South American writer puts it. There was still the formidable linguistic barrier, and the almost equally formidable barrier of religious difference, along with a certain amount of racial feeling.

Rodney

The first Latin-American students in the United States were two Chilean youths who, by special permission of President Madison, were permitted to enter West Point in 1816. About this same time, Bolivar's nephew was attending a private school in Philadelphia; and in a touching letter to his uncle he asks permission to change to the University of Virginia, since this was the school founded by Thomas Jefferson, the father of American democracy.

THE CUBAN STRUGGLE

It is from the year 1823 on, that a more or less steady stream of intellectual intercourse between the United States and Latin America may be traced; for it was in the third decade of the last century that the Cuban struggle for independence began sending to our shores a wave of exiles, among them a number of the island's best writers. The famous poet, Jose Maria de Heredia, friend of William Cullen Bryant and author of the "Ode to Niagara," was one of these. Another was the poet, Rafael Maria de Mendive, Longfellow's friend and Spanish translator. It was these two men, Heredia in particular, who first awakened an interest in Spanish-American literature among English-speaking men of letters of the New World.

The ideal of North American liberty continued to be the lodestone; and not merely our great freedom-founding statesmen like Jefferson and Franklin, but our educators like Horace Mann, who were engaged in creating

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a new type of free school, served as an attraction. It was on a pilgrimage to the Boston home of Horace Mann in 1847 that one of the greatest writers South America has produced, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, author of the famous *Facundo,* came to these shores. *Facundo* has rightly been termed the first great Spanish-American novel. Sarmiento was an educator as well as a novelist, and was inspired by Benjamin Franklin as well as by Horace Mann. He became the friend of men like Emerson, Longfellow, and Ticknor, and wrote a biography of Abraham Lincoln, which Horace Mann's wife translated, but which was never published. (Mrs. Mann also translated the *Facundo.)* After receiving an honorary doctor's degree from the University of Michigan, Sarmiento returned home to become president of his native Argentina.

Another Argentine writer, the poet Jose Antonio Miralla, had come to the United States in 1823, after having participated for seven years in the Cuban fight for independence. He, among other things, translated Gray's *Elegy* into Spanish, thus bringing a taste of English literature to the southern peoples by way of North America. After 1861, as a result of the mid-century "Ten Years' War" for Cuban freedom, more exiles arrived, including the poet beloved of his countrymen, Juan Clemente Zenea. It was Zenea who made the first study of our literature to be published in the Spanish language. And finally, as the century was drawing to a close, came the great Cuban leader and thinker, Jose Marti, who from 1880 to 1895 resided in New York City, and for more than ten years contributed to the New York *Sun.*

It was, in brief, Latin America's fighters for freedom, her exiles, her pilgrims to what they regarded as the shrine of liberty, who throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century kept the two continents in cultural contact with each other. These men were not intellectuals of the ivory tower or the arm chair variety. They were men who valued culture as they did freedom, who realized that the two were inseparable, and that culture like freedom was something that you had to fight for. They were, at the same time, among the finest artists that their respective lands have produced; and they made known to their peoples Whitman, Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, Poe, and other outstanding figures of our literature, before we had scarcely become aware that such a thing as a literature existed south of the Rio Grande.

TREASURE HOUSE OF THE AMERICAS *is what the imperialists are calling it. South America is an almost virgin land, where 120,000,000 hard-working, liberty-loving people are trying to retain their sovereignty and independence against pressure from Wall Street.*

LITERARY REFUGEES

It is to be noted that this intercourse remained for the most part extremely one-sided. With the exception of a few scattered items of interest chiefly to scholars, there is little to indicate a reciprocating concern on the part of North Americans with the culture of their Spanish-speaking neighbors. There are a number of reasons which might be adduced for this. One is the historic fact that it was the political-literary refugees from the south who were compelled to come to us; whereas, our own intellectuals had little if any opportunity to visit Latin-American countries, or even to become acquainted by way of the printed page with the cultural output of these nations. The problem of book exchange between the two civilizations of the hemisphere has always been, and remains, a vexing one.

On the other hand, such a psychological factor as the Yankee's proverbial uni-lingual insularity, commonly explained by geography, is not to be unduly stressed, but must rather be taken in its social-historic context. The Latin Americans are quite as "insular" as ourselves, with no more need than we have of learning a foreign language, e.g., English; yet North American authors are widely read by them, in the original and in numerous translations. Among the works recently done into Spanish for the South American market the present writer has noted John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (a number of versions); Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms;* Dreiser's *Jennie Gerhardt;* Louis Bromfield's *A Modern Hero;* etc. Other writers who are well known to Spanish Americans, and to Portuguese-speaking Brazilians also, are Sinclair Lewis, James Branch Cabell, Upton Sinclair, Willa Cather, Eugene O'Neill, Carl Sandburg, Sherwood Anderson, Langston Hughes,

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Mike Gold, Edgar Lee Masters, Amy Lowell, Edith Wharton, etc. The point is: how many of us could name half a dozen important writers of Latin America?

In the nineteenth century, there can be no doubt that the well known "genteel tradition," against which writers like Whitman and Emerson raised their epic voices, had something to do with the matter. For this tradition was but a prolongation of that colonial spirit which permeates our early literature; it was in reality a form of Anglophilic kow-towing which was to have its apotheosis in Henry James, and which in turn led to a disdain of other *colonial* cultures.

The United States, meanwhile, was busy with her own problems and with working out her own destiny, with completing the conquest of the frontier and laying the foundations of what was to become the world's greatest industrial empire, as the Rockefellers, Astors, Guggenheims, and others gobbled up the nation's resources, preparatory to fastening the chains of economic slavery, not merely upon their countrymen, but, in a still worse form, colonial exploitation, upon the peoples of the southern Americas. It is not surprising, then, that our intellectual class, faithful mirror of the North American bourgeoisie, the Dollar Diplomats, continued to look upon the southern cultures as colonial, and hence inferior.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

From 1870, or about the time that American monopoly capital began forming and Wall Street's foreign policy began taking shape, the stream of cultural intercourse between the continents shows a definite ebb. Jose Marti was the last of the great Latin-American fighters for freedom to find refuge on our shores; today we accord our hospitality to fascists like the Chilean Davila! Already, a deep-rooted suspicion of Yankee aims had been engendered among the other American republics, a suspicion which had been growing ever since our war with Mexico. It was in an effort to ward off this feeling of distrust that the First International Conference of American States was called in Washington in 1889, out of which was born the Pan American Union. Conferences, however, were to prove of little avail in this regard, as Wall Street relentlessly continued its march of empire.

The Spanish-American War and its aftermath, which marked the beginning of the first imperialist struggle for the division of the world, came as a great shock, the final disillusionment, to the Latin-American peoples. What were they to think of their "beneficent" big neighbor to the north, as they beheld that neighbor grabbing Puerto Rico and the Philippines and imposing the odious Platt Amendment on Cuba? There was, too, the Panama affair of 1903, and the aggressions in Central America.

The reaction of Latin-American intellectuals was swift and intense. In the early years of the century we find springing up a continent-wide literary movement, which has as its common basic theme: *resistance to Yankee imperialism.* The finest of South American writers—Ruben Dario, Manuel Ugarte, Rufino Blanco Fombona, and many others—enlisted whole-heartedly in the cause and gave the best that they had to fighting "the Colossus of the north." Commenting on this, a courageous Spanish-American educator, Dr. Manuel Pedro Gonzalez, took occasion to speak his mind plainly a couple of years ago in the course of a lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles:

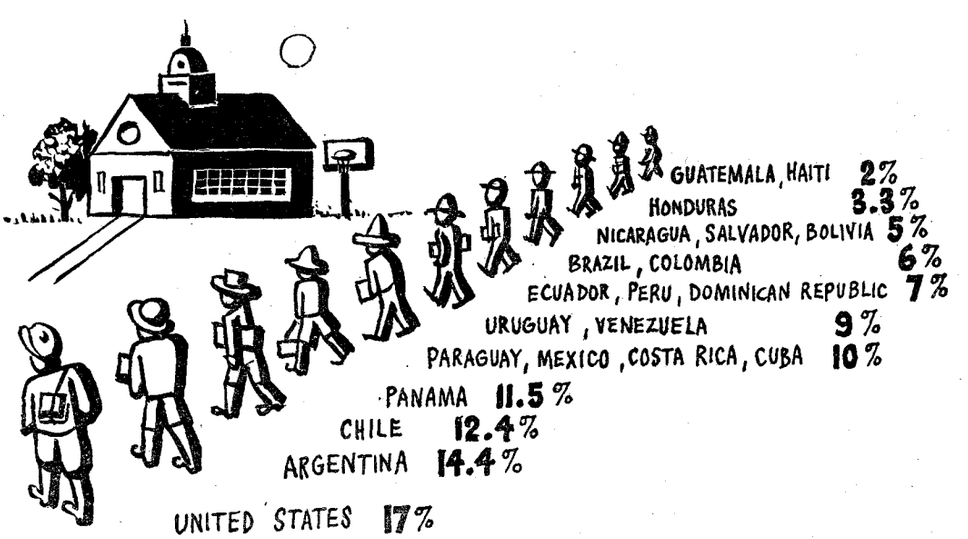
The preaching of these crusaders, on the one hand, and the aggressions of the United States, on the other, prepared the soil, and today we are harvesting the fruits. In the political field we find a deep current of fear, distrust and resentment of the United States, which contrasts sharply with that of confidence and admiration that marked the period prior to the Spanish-American War; in the literary field there exists an anti-Yankee literature which is reaching epidemic proportions. . . . The term Yankee in Spanish America is almost always synonymous with North American, that is, a citizen of the United States, only pigmented with an element of contempt and sometimes even of hate. . . . We can hardly find today a poet or writer in Spanish America who is not strongly antagonistic to American economic penetration. Regardless of political and social views, we may say they are fairly unanimous on this point.

Words such as these, one would think, well might give occasion for pause to those who, capitalizing upon culture, would put it at the service of imperialism. And these words, it is to be remembered, were spoken in 1938. The situation which Dr. Gonzalez has described as beginning with the birth of the century has prevailed down to the present time, with only one noticeable break. That break occurred during the all too brief interlude of the "Good Neighbor Policy." Following the Montevideo conference in 1933 and that of Buenos Aires in 1936, there was a visible bettering of cultural relations, and it seemed as if the new spirit that had been engendered might bear in time a gratifying fruitage. During this interval, Latin-American intellectuals may be said to have been holding their judgment in suspense. They were skeptical still, but willing to be convinced—hoping to be convinced. Dr. Gonzalez sums this up in speaking of the work of the Pan American Union, what it accomplished and failed to accomplish:

The Pan American Union was for many years looked upon with fear and distrust on the part of most enlightened men in Latin America. It was considered chiefly a one-sided commercial agency under the direct control of the State Department at Washington. During the first forty years of its existence, we must admit, the Pan American Union did not accomplish much. Since the Montevideo Conference, in 1933, however, there has been a notable change in the activities of this institution, and both the Montevideo and Buenos Aires conferences have been more fruitful than any of the previous gatherings. There has also been a noticeable change in the attitude of American delegates to the last two conferences, which is largely the reason for their success. During the last few years, the Pan American Union has devoted much more attention to cultural matters than before. If the several conventions of a cultural character signed at Buenos Aires in January 1937, were to be ratified and put in practice by all the governments concerned, it would be a decisive step forward.

Then came the war and with it the scrapping of the New Deal and the Good Neighbor Policy. The corollary on the cultural plane is the appointment of one of the Standard Oil heirs to his present post. The result—well, the result can be imagined. The very name, Rockefeller, in Latin America, is the embodiment of that "Yankee imperialism" against which Dario and Ugarte and Blanco Fombona and all the others have struggled so valiantly all these years. The disillusionment of the Latin intellectuals is, accordingly, greater and deeper than ever. Their thoughts instinctively go back to the days that followed the Spanish-American War, the Platt Amendment, the marines in Nicaragua. Culture? they ask. *Whose culture?* And these, it must be granted, are questions they have a right to ask. But more of this in my next article.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.



EDUCATION FOR THE MASSES *is South America's foremost demand. Figures show the proportion of population in the elementary schools. Most kids below the Rio Grande don't get the chance.*

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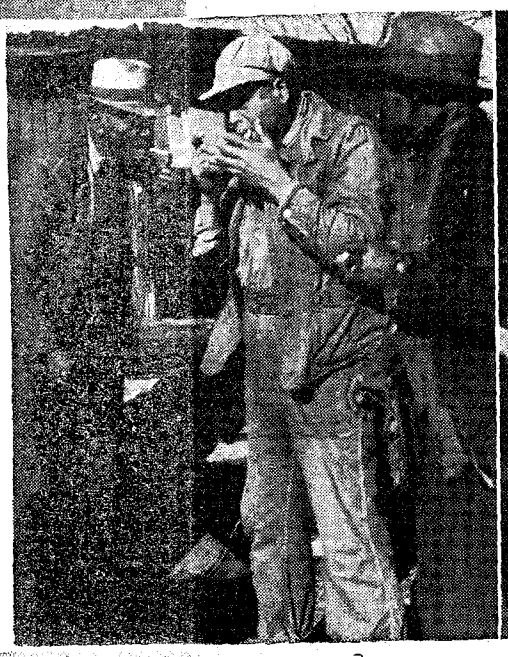
"OUR WAY OF LIFE"

"Our way of life"—what does it mean if your skin is black? Here is part of the answer: you have seen their faces. Last to be hired, first to be fired, the poorest houses, the highest rents, jimcrowed, persecuted, disfranchised, lynched —this is "our way of life" for thirteen million black Americans. Why go to Germany to find racism and fascism? Hitler merely imitates the bourbons of our own South. And they are not in the South alone. The President of the United States declaims lofty odes to democracy—while Jim Crow presides at his inaugural. Everywhere throughout the length and breadth of America the Constitution is being violated with impu[illegible]y those who seek to build a rich man's way of life on the [illegible]ession of poor black men. Is this what thirteen millio[illegible]groes are to defend? Is this what liberty-loving white A[illegible]ricans are to defend?

"I can read,
I read books, too
I once bought $7.00 worth of books,
Real ones.
The Bible, and "Our War For Human Rights!"
All good folks have the Bible,
But, I can read it."
South Carolina

"I don't go in the stores,
This part a-town.
But they can't stop me from walkin' the streets."
Georgia



"I bin dyin' for a smoke,
Glad you offered, I was afraid to ask.
It's funny workin' tobacco and not ownin' a butt."
Virginia

"All we want is work, that's all.
Maybe you folks know
Where us black folks can get work,
All we want is work, that's all."
Alabama

"I don't know how much lan' we work,
We jus' work all the lan' we can,
We pay near a quarter what we grow for rent,
We pay near a quarter what we grow for ginnin' and seed,
We pay near a quarter what we grow for tools, bags, shippin' and other stuff
The res' is ours for livin'."
North Carolina

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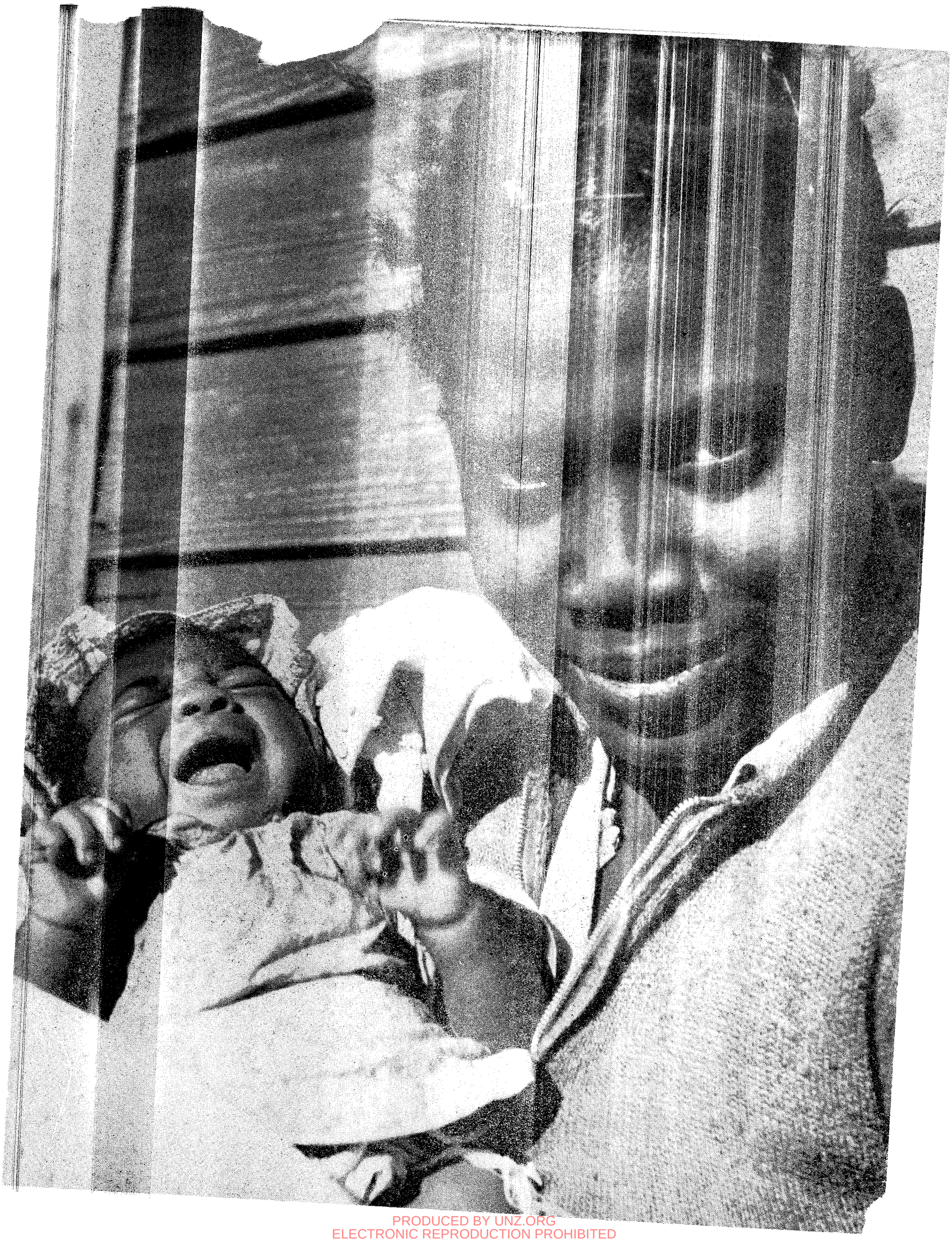

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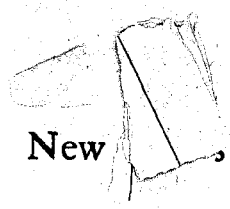
Two Men on a War Horse



FDR is embraced by the chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Bank. New for old thefts. The coupon clippers okay the budget.

THERE was a moment of purest farce last week when *Winthrop W. Aldrich* was reading his statement as chairman of the board to the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Chase National Bank. In the middle of a speech about balance sheets and profits Mr. Aldrich interpolated his endorsement of the "lend-lease" bill. Reported the New York *Times:* "This declaration took the bank's stockholders completely by surprise. Several protested vigorously. One woman stockholder on being recognized by the chair asked: 'Why have you gone over to the New Deal?' Mr. Aldrich replied that it was the only course that a great bank like the Chase could pursue. This stockholder left the meeting abruptly."

We fly to the defense of Mr. Aldrich. He has not gone over to the New Deal. The "New Deal" has gone over to the Chase National Bank. The lady stockholder was too hasty. She evidently left before Mr. Aldrich began to review the bank's investments. The Chase Bank, he told the stockholders, has no German loans, "and its foreign security holdings are chiefly those of Canada and Cuba with some British securities required by law in England." Its holdings of United States government obligations at the end of 1940 amounted to $1,098,108,000, or almost 3 percent of the total national debt. In other words, Chase Bank is sitting pretty.

BANK LOANS

Nor did this unfortunately dim-witted lady stockholder pause to realize that Mr. Aldrich was really presiding as high priest at a meeting of solemn thanksgiving. Even the Rockefellers' own banker could not resist a flight into the ecstasy of war profiteering. For at long last *everything* was finally going *exactly* the way the Chase Bank wanted it to go. True, Mr. Aldrich wagged a prudent finger at the boys in the Treasury. He urged them to forego the "easy way" of financing by relying on the banks to purchase new issues of government securities. Reiterating the injunctions of the Federal Reserve Board in its report to Congress, he told the administration to go to the private investors. Float bonds with high interest rates. Put them up in small as well as large denominations. That will help prevent inflation. It will enable the rich to make money clipping juicy coupons.

As for bank loans to industry for the armaments program, Mr. Aldrich said that "while individual loans have been large, notably in the aircraft industry, taking the nation as a whole, only the surface of possibility has been scratched thus far." Of course the government could stake the munitions contractors to loans by selling bonds to the banks. But that would be inflationary, he warned.

Observe that Mr. Aldrich wants [illegible] issues floated by the Treasury to siphon of[illegible]e increased purchasing power of the masses [illegible]d, through higher interest rates, provide a good return to the patriotic Wall Streeters as well. But the government is not to finance the armaments manufacturers directly. The banks are to do that—at a respectable rate of interest, of course. That will take care of the funds which have so long been idle. Thus finance capital wheels into position to drain the gravy out of the war preparations.

Except for the Cro-Magnon lady stockholder, the others present knew that it was a great day for the Chase Bank, for Mr. Aldrich, and for the Rockefellers who own both. The chairman of the world's largest bank refrained with charming delicacy from overfilling their cup. But the plain fact is that Mr. Aldrich was announcing the endorsement of the war and imperialist program of Roosevelt. He was joining hands with the Morgans, who are already represented in the "defense" grab by Knudsen and Stettinius. He was telling Congress that the Chase Bank wants that "lend-lease" bill passed, and above all it approves of the federal budget.

Every admonition of Mr. Aldrich had been dutifully heeded by the President. Said Mr. Aldrich, laying down the law: "There is, however, a certain limit beyond which taxation for defense, as for other purposes, should not go. This is the point at which taxation becomes destructive, in the sense that it encroaches upon the capital equipment of the country. Determining where this point lies is one of the most difficult and delicate decisions that Congress is called upon to make."

Said the President: "Only very drastic and restrictive taxation which curtails consumption would finance defense wholly on a pay-as-you-go basis. I fear that such taxation would interfere with the full use of our productive capacities."

Let us put this into very blunt language. Both gentlemen are saying the same thing. Both want the war paid for out of the toil and the sacrifice of the workers and farmers and small business people. Both want to raise as much money as possible out of taxes. And both agree that when certain taxes get too heavy they tend to slow up production. Why? Because they take away the capitalist's incentive. Obviously, then, neither excess profits taxes nor income taxes on the upper brackets are to be permitted to become really burdensome. But as for the rest of the people, lower the restrictions, let the bars down, reduce the exemption for single people to $800 a year and for married men or heads of families to $1,800 a year. Pile on the taxes.

Taxation that hits the people serves another purpose: it helps curtail the activity of the consumers' goods industries. Said Mr. Aldrich: "Defense financing by taxation has the merit, among others, of diverting productive effort into channels directly serving the national defense. It does this by limiting useless or postponable expenditure, and by utilizing the funds so relinquished to pay military or other defense costs."

OTHERS SPEAK

Other spokesmen for business talk in similar vein. In his keynote address at the opening session of the convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association on January 13, Frank M. Mayfield, president of the association, asked, "Can the production of consumer goods be maintained at normal? Can the country have all the defense it needs and at the same time produce all the consumer articles it has been accustomed to have? The country apparently thinks it can. . . . The problem is summed up in the phrase, 'Guns vs. Butter.' Sooner or later we will have to curtail the production of consumer goods, and the prospect is not pleasant for the consumer."

To which add the comments of Dr. Paul F. Cadman, economist of the American Bankers Association, in the New York *Sun's* "Voice of Business" section of January 11. Under the title "Defense Prosperity—Reality or Illusion!" he wrote, "It will be a major tragedy if the American people now indulge in a false sense of prosperity and thereby conceal or defer the realization of the immense sacrifices which the national defense program inevitably entails. It would have been far better if we, too, had been invited not to 'blood and tears' but to toil and trial and a definite curtailment of our standard of living."

All of which is in line with President Roosevelt's statement in his recent fireside chat: "I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials that are essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield, and will gladly yield, to our primary and compelling purpose."

This is the reality behind the proposed new budget which the United States *News* (January 17) calls "a war budget." The message on the state of the Union which preceded it was the smokescreen behind which the machinery is being put into motion to crush the American people, drag their standard of living to the levels of Hitler's forced labor, to the levels of Japan's imprisoned working class, if that's necessary to give American imperialism the sceptre of world power.

For the two years from June 1940 to June 1942 the total appropriated, authorized, and recommended for the war program amounts to $28,480,000,000. This is already $1,000,-

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000,000 more than the direct cost to the United States of the first imperialist war. The money is about to pour out and, says *Business Week,* "at some time before June 1942 monthly outlays on armaments will easily top the billion dollar mark."

Examine this highly simplified statement of the budget (each fiscal year ends June 30):

Expenditures	1942 (estimated)	1941 (estimated)	1940 (actual)
	(In millions of dollars)		
National Defense	$10,811	$6,464	$1,580
Aid to Agriculture	1,062	1,106	1,375
Aids to Youth	363	369	378
Work Relief	1,034	1,477	1,861
Total Expenditure	*17,485*	*13,202*	*8,998*
Total Receipts	*8,275*	*7,013*	*5,387*
DEFICIT	9,210	6,189	3,611

For the unemployed, the President has a reduction of over $400,000,000 in WPA and $67,000,000 in PWA. For the farmers he recommends slashes of $20,000,000 from the administration of the Farm Tenant Act and $35,700,000 from the surplus disposal program under which the Stamp Plan operates. Since both the CCC and the NYA can be geared into the war program the budget shows only a slight reduction in the appropriation for "Aids to Youth."

Basing himself upon an estimate of $86,000,000,000 national income for the fiscal year of 1942, Roosevelt has reduced every "line" in the budget which could support any extension of social benefits to the masses of the people. He is gambling on war industries absorbing at least half of the unemployed. He is carefully closing his eyes to the necessity for reduced consumption in a war economy. A short term prosperity bubble has been launched to capture the interest and approval of the American people. But it must burst. When it does the attack on our living standards will become even more bald and sharp.

Meanwhile the bankers approve. Look again at the skeleton of the budget above. Notice the increase in total receipts, some $3,000,000,000 since 1940. The people are going to pay that increase in heavier taxes. But the "delicate decision" dictates that for the present the taxes be not multiplied overmuch. Observe then the deficit, some $5,600,000,000 more than in 1940. How will that be covered? By utilizing every avenue of propaganda, all the techniques of publicity and advertising, all the tear jerking, banner waving, name calling patriotic appeals, to launch the first "Liberty" Loans of the second imperialist war.

You will see Mr. Aldrich and his friends publicly buying these bonds and urging John Jones and Mary Smith to buy. Next year Mr. Aldrich will make another speech to his stockholders. He will report net profits even higher than the $13,550,000 for 1940. But John Jones and Mary Smith will be wondering how it is they somehow just can't make ends meet when they're working harder than ever.

Mr. Aldrich had a word for it, this tricking and robbing of the American people. It is indeed a difficult and a "delicate" job.

FRANK J. WALLACE.

Michaels

News Item: Mayor LaGuardia brings the fashion center to New York.

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NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors
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Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL

★

Roosevelt's New Metaphysics

EIGHT years ago Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his first inaugural, told a prostrate nation that the money-changers had fled the temple and that he would restore it to its ancient truths. Before long it became clear that the money-changers, far from having fled, were very much in possession; they had merely installed a new high priest.

Four years ago Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his second inaugural, echoing the democratic mandate for which the people had voted so overwhelmingly, painted the picture of one-third of a nation ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and declared his purpose to blot out that picture. What he eventually blotted out was the New Deal.

In his third inaugural Franklin D. Roosevelt no longer concerned himself with such mundane matters. Ascending into the rhetorical stratosphere, he encompassed the problems of America and the world in those large rolling generalities which serve so well to dissolve reality in a mist of platitudes. The *Nation* and *New Republic* will no doubt call this a noble oration, and noble it is in the sense that any collection of copy-book maxims is noble. But this is a spurious eloquence; it evades reality and seeks to propagate a lie. And on those few occasions when the inaugural fleetingly touched earth, the lie became naked. Consider this:

"For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained."

Only a self-infatuated person could fail to sense the irony of this statement coming from the lips of the very man who violated the Constitution by forming secret alliances with Britain and Canada, who has just demanded that Congress abdicate and turn over to him unprecedented power, who permits 10,000,000 Negroes and whites in the South to be deprived of the vote, who has encouraged the abrogation of the Bill of Rights for minority parties and other opponents of his policies.

And the man who less than three years ago told Congress that "Among us today a concentration of private economic power without equal in history is growing," today tries to make people believe that the kind of democracy which exists in this country "is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise."

And finally, the "spiritual" note. The piety of a ruling class is in inverse ratio to its vigor. Its peculiar spiritual glow is always the reflection of inner rot. Never has the President been quite so "spiritual" as in this inaugural address. In fact, he told the wretched one-third of the nation for whom he once professed to speak that "It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, to instruct, to inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three the greatest is the spirit." It takes no great wisdom to recognize this as the old slave doctrine of endure and suffer, for the kingdom of heaven will come. This new "spirituality" of the President's is class-conditioned. A government dragging an unwilling people into an unwanted war has need of such vestments to cloak and sanctify its infamy.

Question

FOUR weeks ago, in our issue of December 31, NEW MASSES publicized a speech by Dr. Virgil Jordan to the Investment Bankers Association in Hollywood, Fla. The speech turned out to be the most cynical revelation of American war aims we have yet seen, a real insight into the minds of the men who rule and have misruled this country. It came from the mouth of a topflight economist, the chairman of the National Industrial Conference Board, a big shot among the big shots. How long will it take our worthy contemporaries, the *Nation* and *New Republic,* to comment on this remarkable address? Have they ever heard of Virgil Jordan? Do they think he was talking for himself? Have they inquired whether the speech was ever disavowed? Or are they waiting for him to bite a dog?

FD Willkie

WENDELL WILLKIE'S endorsement of President Roosevelt's lend-lease bill has touched off the smoldering feud in the Republican Party. Alfred Landon, the 1936 Republican candidate, has replied tartly to a rebuke from Willkie, while the last Republican President, Herbert Hoover, and Willkie's chief rivals for the nomination, Senator Taft and Thomas E. Dewey, have by their criticism of certain aspects of the bill, made clear their disagreement with the titular head of "the loyal opposition." But this feud, however it may be affected by personal ambition and jealousy, is essentially a conflict between two sections of the capitalist class over the course best calculated to maintain and strengthen the positions of American imperialism. The same conflict, though less clearly defined, exists in the Democratic Party.

Willkie's fight for the Roosevelt bill confirms what NEW MASSES maintained throughout the election campaign: that the two stood for essentially the same things and the peace promises of neither could be believed. Now Willkie is in the anomalous position of supporting his erstwhile rival against the leaders of his own party. The contradiction, however, is not as great as it seems. For Willkie's critics, too, oppose neutrality and favor an expanded war trade with Britain, as is indicated by Senator Taft's introduction of a bill to provide a billion and a half credit for Britain. In neither camp is there consistency nor principle, in both only a passionate concern with the strategy of profit and power. Meanwhile Wall Street's barefoot boy flies to England as a "private citizen" after receiving official secret information from the State Department and an official letter of introduction to Churchill from President Roosevelt.

The TNEC Suppresses Itself

THE decision not to make public the Temporary National Economic Committee's conclusions "in view of the defense emergency" raised the question as to whether the state of the nation is so desperate that it dare not be discussed. This act of suppression is only another instance of Washington's policy to censor all news that does not wave flags for greater involvement in the war. Certainly, it will take more than committee chairman O'Mahoney's brave and watered words to assure the provision of "stable employment for the masses" if America is to preserve democracy. The senator, in addition asks, "why with all the unlimited resources nature affords, money, machines, and men have been idle with consequent hardships and suffering for millions?" NEW MASSES has also asked the same question. We hazard a guess that a good portion of the answer can be found in the TNEC investigations into the oil, steel, and other large industries; into corporate bureaucracy; wages and prices; national income, etc. But this information is withheld by the censor. Perhaps the answer to the senator's resounding question is not far from the answer discussed repeatedly in the columns of NEW MASSES. Yet in this "defense emergency," any invidious comment concerning capitalism is frowned upon—any comment revealing that unemployment and war go hand in hand with monopoly control, the scramble for the redivision of the world's markets, and the skyrocketing of the income of the few.

M-Day on the Campus

A NUMBER of university administrations are acting on Nicholas Murray Butler's assumption that academic freedom has nothing to do with students. Some time ago, the University of Michigan authorities arbitrarily refused re-admission to a group of honor students who had spoken for peace on the Ann Arbor campus. Pres. Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College has suspended seven evening students who were leaders of campus organizations distasteful to him. At the University of Wisconsin an effort was made last week to compel student peace groups to make public their membership rolls with the apparent intent to institute a blacklist.

Three significant points may be made about

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these actions. The students who are being persecuted and suspended are leaders in the peace movements of their respective schools; in each instance the discrimination reflects a desire to impose a war discipline on a reluctant student body. Moreover, these attacks parallel similar measures against progressive teachers in the schools; Dr. Gideonse, for example, has given full support to New York's Rapp-Coudert witch hunt and has smeared his college before that committee. And finally, each administrative action has been resisted by an aroused student body; at Wisconsin, the blacklist effort was successfully blocked by the student council on the ground that the political rights of all undergraduates were being placed in jeopardy.

The students are in no mood for submission to campus M-Day schemes which would strip them of every democratic prerogative. Vigilant, articulate, and organized, they are giving some of their elders an elementary lesson in Americanism.

Planes vs. Ships

IN A military way, the big news last week was not the continued British progress in Libya, nor the attacks in the wilds of Italian Ethiopia, nor even the heavy blows against the British Isles and the counterblows along the French coast. The big news comes in the form of an acknowledgment from London that a group of German *Stuka* planes, dive-bombers, shattered the decks of the British aircraft carrier *Illustrious,* and crippled two other heavy ships, one of which, *Southhampton,* had to be sunk. The raids took place off Sicily and in the harbor of Malta; the ships were protecting a convoy en route to Greece. It's significant, of course, that the British fleet has sufficient control of the Mediterranean and high enough hopes in Greece to be convoying men and materials from the British isles. But it is even more significant that German planes, in their first large-scale service from Italian soil, have been able to score so heavily. Some fifteen Nazi planes were lost, but that hardly compensates for the loss of capital ships whose cost runs into millions of dollars. Evidently, it can be done: battleships are by no means invulnerable to concentrated assault from the air. It would be hasty to generalize from this experience, but unchallenged raids of this kind might make it difficult for the British fleet to venture freely in the relatively close waters of the Mediterranean.

Hemisphere Roundup

"SOBERANIA"—sovereignty—is a sacred word in Latin America. Much blood was shed from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego for the sovereignty of the twenty Spanish-speaking countries. Now, after a century and a half of combating the corsairs of Spain, the invaders of Napoleon III, the tyrants of their own lands like Gerardo Machado or Porfirio Diaz, our Latin neighbors are once again embattled. The enemy today arrives via Pan American plane and talks fast of "mutual hemisphere defense," of "the common threat to the Americas"—but actually he means, "Come across, or else—." The Colossus of the North is collecting the promissory notes made at Havana last July.

The beginning of construction on the first naval and air base in Mexico to be used by the United States is under way. Several others are planned. Though the Mexican Foreign Minister, Ezekila Padilla—to satisfy his people—insists that the bases will be built by Mexico and remain officially under Mexican sovereignty, it is well known that the national treasury hasn't enough to build a large size battleship, let alone elaborate military bases.

Moving on down the continent a bit, we come to Ecuador, which owns the Galapagos Islands. The heat is on that little country, too, and rumors "persist" that the air and naval base deal is about complete. Furthermore, the United States has offered "to arbitrate" a boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru. All the way down, in Chile, news reports have it that if Oscar Schnake, the Socialist leader, succeeds in breaking the Popular Front by expelling the Communists, everything will be hunky-dory for American imperialism. *Hemisphere,* authoritative weekly

(Continued on page 22)

The Week in Labor

AMERICAN labor refuses to don the garment being tailored for it by Sidney Hillman; it suspects that his 1941 model is a straitjacket. The past week saw turbulent objection on the part of organized labor to the administration's "three noes" policy: no strikes, no wage increases, no organizing. It was an ominous seven days for the working man. Every part of the nation registered an assault upon labor's rights. The West Coast witnessed a threat by a military official that the conscription law could be utilized against aircraft employees if they go on strike. From Saginaw, Mich., came the "back-to-work" decree of the Department of Labor against striking automobile workers. From Washington, D. C., came news that Mr. Hillman was hand picking a brand new labor "defense" apparatus which he hoped could curb the increasing militancy of workers.

Labor was in a fighting mood for two reasons: one, because the cost of living was being jacked up, and two, because their employers were raking the profits in hand over fist. Furthermore, the War Department showed its contempt for organized labor when it refused to cede ground on the question of granting contracts to Wagner act violators. The gentlemen who have in their power the grant of billions pussyfooted on this issue, referred the whole matter back to Congress. Actually, they were violating a ruling expressed once, under pressure, by the National Defense Commission that defense contractors should comply with federal and state labor laws. Many felt that Sidney Hillman might as well don a brass hat and doff his civilian clothes: to all effects and purposes he was at the beck and call of the jingoes rather than the man at the bench.

The stepped-up assault upon labor was not accidental. It came as the reply to labor's strong stand for higher wages, for observance of its hard-earned rights. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee demanded better pay. The National Maritime Union found 400,000 New York CIO unionists behind them in their drive for wage increases. The progressive slate in the New York Joint Board of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees (AFL) won by an impressive majority, completely reversing the trend of the past elections. The drive to organize the Ford domain by the UAW was on in full swing as news came that men on the assembly line were wearing their CIO buttons on their caps and were being assisted by other trade unionists when Harry Bennett's goons attacked them.

Large sections of labor, too, were becoming increasingly active on the political scene, aware that the question of pay rates and union rights was inextricably bound up with happenings in the legislative halls. The CIO Industrial Council in New York opposed the Coughlin criminal syndicalism and anti-sabotage bill, which could be so construed as to frame all who go on strike or who insist on organizing. The bill would make punishable by a ten-year sentence "injury to or destruction of property of an employer." Similar bills were being combated in other states: notably in Pennsylvania, where Governor Arthur H. James is pushing hard for a "sabotage" bill.

Furthermore, on the all-important issue of America's involvement in the European war, rank-and-file trade unionists were ahead of their leaders. They were not being stampeded to surrender their rights by the terrific pressure of the interventionists and the calamity howling of such men as Matthew Woll and Robert P. Patterson, Assistant Secretary of War. ("In time of peril voluntary arbitration is by far the most satisfactory method of adjudicating differences between industry and labor.") Resolutions from regional bodies piled up on the President's desk, opposing the grant of dictatorial powers implied in the lease-lend bill. One day's news of protests included the Executive Board of the Connecticut State CIO; the Women's Auxiliary of the National Maritime Union; the AFL weekly in Cincinnati, the *Chronicle;* the Washington Commonwealth Federation. The frantic haste of the administration to railroad the lease-lend bill through Congress is due to the increasing awareness of America's millions of working men and their friends. This force, once united and clear in its program, is irresistible.

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(Continued from page 21)

news letter on Latin America, puts it this way in its January 17 issue: "Within its (the Popular Front) ranks, the Socialist Party became the leading pro-US advocates and demanded the exclusion of US-wary Communists."

American imperialism is moving fast: Nazi agents work frantically to buck the advances of their opponents. The British hang on to their holdings in the Argentine. Meanwhile, the Associated Press reports a new development from Buenos Aires; the one non-capitalist, non-imperialist nation in the world—the USSR—appears in the Latin-American news. No pressure for air bases, no ambitions for continental conquest, are involved. Merely this: the Argentines seek to sell part of their 6,000,000-ton grain surplus to the Soviet Union. "Russians," the report has it, "have been active in recent months increasing their purchases of hide and wool. In one week two merchantmen sailed from Buenos Aires for Russia." Argentine, the AP said, "has never recognized the Soviet." But today that government, like all over the world, recognize this: the Soviet Union is interested in trading fairly with all nations, and that its credit is the best on the globe. Something for the United States to think over, that.

Where the Blame Belongs

LESS than a mile east of Union Square in New York City is a vast area of ancient tenements, abandoned factory buildings, and tiny neighborhood stores. Here families live in poverty. Out of these surroundings last week came two gunmen, Anthony and William Esposito, to terrorize Fifth Avenue shoppers with a hold-up resulting in the brutal killing of a merchant, a policeman, and the wounding of three others.

Police Commissioner Lewis A. Valentine called the murderers "mad dogs." Newspapers commented on their Italian ancestry and "bad heredity," one writer remarking that they are "hairy apes" out of the jungle. Inferred was the supposition that the Italian people breed criminal types. The Esposito brothers grew up in the deep poverty of America; their parents had emigrated to the New World from the deep poverty of the Italian provinces. But the blame for this terrible crime rests not upon the Italian people —any more than it does upon the American people among whom the Esposito boys grew to manhood. Obviously, a fanatical hatred of society, bred of poverty and lack of an opportunity, fashioned the Espositos into their murderous mould. To look to their nationality for an explanation is fascist racism applied.

More on the People's Convention

THE repercussions of the British People's Convention continue to spread. All during the fall and early winter, while delegates were being elected from the air raid shelters, factories, churches, and cooperatives the British press ignored the gathering. But on January 12, the newspapermen that went to snicker came back with indelible impressions. From what we gather, British newspapers are now trying a different tune. As might have been expected, they challenge the convention as "Moscow-inspired." But a partial analysis of the credentials, released last week, shows that of the 2,234 delegates, some 500 came from industrial enterprises employing 500,000 workers. The largest proportion were engineering, mining, building trades, transport, and railway workers, with lighter industries equally well represented. 150 delegates came from youth organizations, ninety-nine from cooperatives totaling 50,000 members. Two hundred and fifty-odd came from political groups, largely from the Communist Party and local bodies of the Labor Party. The grand total shows a representation of just over 1,000,000 people, which in a country of 45,000,000 is a powerful beginning. The convention has stimulated some real thinking in all circles; in the face of the increasingly onerous rations, the breakdown of transport facilities for food and coal, and the hardships attending the air-raids, the twelve regional gatherings which have been scheduled will certainly reach out to gain hundreds of thousands of new adherents.

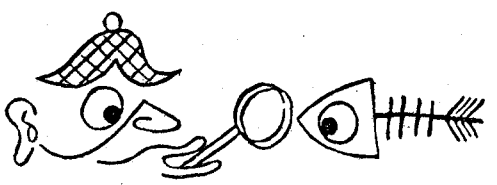
We noted in one of the *Daily Worker* stories last week that all thirty-six delegates from the Napier Aircraft Works denounced the London *Daily Herald,* the Labor Party newspaper, for its treatment of the convention—probably only one of the hundreds of instances in which the rank and file of the Labor Party are challenging the ruinous policies of their leadership.

A few editorials in the American press have lampooned the convention's program; they allege that British democracy was vindicated by the fact that the convention was allowed to take place at all. But latest reports are, in Raymond Daniell's despatch to the New York *Times* on Sunday, January 19, that the British government is so worried by the convention that it plans to crack down on its activities. If true, that would cut the ground away from the pretensions of the American press.

As we go to press, dispatches report the suspension of the London Daily Worker *and* The Week, *edited by Claude Cockburn. The suspension order was issued by Herbert Morrison, Laborite Home Secretary.*

Suffering in Europe

MORRIS C. TROPER, European executive of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, returned last week with the horrible story of the plight of Jewish refugees in Europe. It is a saga of suffering unequalled in modern times. The Polish Jews who did not escape to the Soviet Union, or who were not fortunate enough to have escaped to Lithuania before it became a Soviet Republic, are trapped in the Nazi ghettoes. Some 965,000 of them are living on the thin soup and black bread of public relief. Another 400,000 outside of the ghetto walls are not even eligible for this pittance. In the Paris area, where anti-Semitic decrees are being enforced, some thousands of Jews are fed in soup kitchens. In the Gurs concentration camp of unoccupied France, 15,000 refugees from all parts of capitalist Europe are at present imprisoned. Suicides, says Mr. Troper, average twenty to thirty a day. Disease and pestilence afflict the prisoners, harassed by the German police as well as the anti-Semitic laws which have now been adopted in Vichy. Save for a pitifully small emigration to the United States, where war clouds intensify anti-Semitism, there will be no hope for these people, until the salvation which people's governments will bring to all of the oppressed of Europe alike.



Paging Mr. Backer

AS ALL Gothamites know, the New York *Post* is operated by a man who has made "anti-Communism" his major platform. Puny fellow that he is, Mr. Backer cannot see the issues of this war except in terms of a British or German victory. The third alternative, which the Communists uphold, he invariably credits to their mythical "alliance" with the Nazis. But twice last week in the pages of the New York *Post* we came across somewhat remarkable items.

The correspondent from Greece, Mary Merlin, reports a talk with an Italian prisoner, one Antonio Gazzi. He tells her that "hundreds of secret police are mixed with every [Italian] draft contingent looking for Communists and dissenters who are stirring up the people throughout northern Italy." Illegal newspapers and radios which the police are unable to check have been giving the people news of Mussolini's debacle. Uprising against *fascismo,* thought this prisoner, was quite a ways off; the Black Shirts are patrolling the industrial towns of Milan, Turin, and Genoa where things would pop . . . "but if Italian troops are sent back to Italy with weapons," he said, "there will be plenty of trouble."

The same day on the same page, this newspaper carried an interview with Vladimir Pozner, a French journalist just arrived in this country. He reports that working-class districts around Paris "have proved unhealthy places for the Germans to be" . . . "there is more left-wing propaganda today than in 1936." . . . "The Communists are particularly active in the Paris region, Pozner declared. They do not support the Germans, he said, and one of their slogans is 'No imperialist war against Britain.'" . . .

Will the editor of the *Post* apologize for every time he has slandered the brave anti-fascists in France and Italy with the obscene phrase "communazi"? Or did these stories by some chance slip by his blue-pencil?

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Readers' Forum

"...the Ravell'd Sleave of Care"

TO NEW MASSES: I just ran into a copy of the *Picture Post* of Nov. 9, 1940. This magazine, as you may already know, is published in London and is quite popular there. I thought you might like to print two letters I found in the "What Our Readers Say" department. These two refer to the Soviet Union and were apparently written in reply to an anti-Soviet article written by Hilaire Belloc. The first one is signed by one J. Dark of Clovelly Road, Ealing, W.5:

"Six weeks of banging, blasting, wailing, thudding, etc., have passed since I spent eight blissful silent hours on a well-sprung bed which I still keep as a souvenir. Nightly I ponder with remorse on many hours of wasted wakefulness, on a youth misspent in sabotage of bedtime. Mr. Belloc's Asiatic Horde in Moscow has not lost a moment's sleep over this war. This alone proves them to be of a very high order of intelligence, and Londoners cannot but benefit by alliance with a state which guarantees eight hours' safe silent sleep per night per bed per person. This Bolshevik habit of sleeping tight every night is revolutionary dynamite. It makes a fellow think."

The second letter is signed by Edgar P. Young, Commander, Royal Navy, Gloucester Place, London, W.1:

"So keen is Mr. Belloc indeed on preserving 'the superiority and control of the European official and soldier in outlying parts of the world' and the 'Capital and great inequality of economic circumstance' for which he says the country stands, that he is prepared to face what his strategic training must tell him is a hopeless military situation. He abhors the idea of making changes in the social and economic structure of our empire. Yet these changes, which incidentally only a People's Government of the type advocated by the People's Vigilance Committee would make, are essential if we are to earn the confidence of the Soviet Union and their co-operation, without which victory over the Nazi-Fascist combine cannot be achieved. Instead, Mr. Belloc would struggle vainly against and eventually accept subjection by small cliques of crooks—similar minded to himself in regard to the 'lesser breeds without the law'—in Germany, Italy, and presumably Japan, whom he no doubt considers as an honorary member of 'European Christendom.' How apt, therefore, is his statement 'Never did that word freedom sound more hollow than it sounds with us in this crisis.'"

HORACE WHITMAN.

Boston, Mass.

Best Buy

TO NEW MASSES: I would like to call to the attention of your readers the best news that has come from the publishing world for a long time. That is the issuance by International Publishers of *The Soviet Power* by Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, in a special 35-cent edition of 100,000 copies. The earlier and more expensive editions put out by Modern Age Books, Inc., have already been completely sold out, so that Modern Age is preparing a new $2.50 edition of its own.

As various reviewers have stated, Dean Johnson's book is the most readable and authoritative general work on the Soviet Union since that of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The 368 pages of facts, maps, illustrations, and first-hand observations covering the whole vast panorama of Soviet life are indeed a bargain at 35 cents. Furthermore, I understand that one can obtain three copies of the International edition for $1. What could be better for NEW MASSES readers than to take advantage of this remarkable offer and present the Dean of Canterbury's book both to themselves and their friends?

CORLISS LAMONT.

New York City.

Counterpoint on ASCAP

TO NEW MASSES: You have done the cause of cultural freedom a good turn by Ralph Warner's analysis of the current radio-music war between ASCAP and the broadcast chains. However, ASCAP does not come into the battle with entirely clean hands, for the several leading publishers in its ranks constitute a small monopoly in their own right. And BMI has made good use of the fact that the young song writer, and frequently the talented older song writer, have been unable to break through the ASCAP wall to publication and success.

Nevertheless, I am with ASCAP in its fight for the reasons you stated. The air and the music belong to the public. Broadcasters who operate the technical means of transmission should be limited to that sphere alone.

JOSEPH WINKLER.

Chicago, Ill.

The Old Nazi Game

TO NEW MASSES: As a student of anti-Nazi and Nazi literature, I was astonished by the reception given to a recent arrival in this country, Herr Bermann-Fischer, by the American press and publishing houses. The *Times, Publishers Weekly,* and other papers praised Bermann-Fischer as "the outstanding" publisher of German anti-Nazi literature. Harcourt, Brace arranged a tea for him. Before a gathering of American publishers, Herr Bermann-Fischer announced plans for publishing in this country.

But there are other German publishers who have not fared as well. Walter Landauer, manager of *"Allert de Lange,"* publisher of Kisch, Kesten, Brecht, Keun, Leonhard Frank, Schiekle, and many other progressive writers has managed to get a Mexican visa through the efforts of the League of American Writers, but is still "somewhere" in Nazi-occupied Europe. Dr. Landshoff, manager of *"Querido,"* publisher of Bruno Frank, Heinrich Mann, Anna Seghers, Rudolf Kaiser, was until a short time ago in an English concentration camp. The manager of *Malikverlag,* who is in this country, remains in the greatest difficulties.

Yet Herr Bermann-Fischer is the toast of the press and the publishing houses. Right now he talks like a confirmed anti-fascist. But for years after Hitler came to power, Bermann-Fischer published the outstanding Nazi authors, among them Heinrich Hauser who, in 1934, dedicated his book "to the second greatest German, Hermann Goering, with national socialist *Sieg Heil!*" Herr Bermann-Fischer also did much to help Goebbels create a cultural veneer for the Nazis during the first few years of Hitler's rule. It was only later that his services were no longer necessary and he retired in semi-exile to Vienna.

True, Herr Bermann-Fischer published the works of Thomas Mann. It should be borne in mind, however, that Mann avoided criticizing Nazism until 1935 in order not to interfere with the sale of his books in Germany. Mann even declined to collaborate in the magazine *"Die Sammlung,"* edited by his son Klaus. He gave as his reason his unwillingness to be associated with an "emigre publication," which was exactly what Herr Bermann-Fischer urged him to do after consulting with high Nazis.

It seems that the American press and American publishers, in patronizing Herr Bermann-Fischer, are expending a great deal of praise on a publisher, who so long as he could hang on, was willing to play the Nazis' game.

R. E.

New York City.

What, No Tigers?

TO NEW MASSES: *Re* NEW MASSES editorial January 14, "Ireland," "when the brontosauri of imperialism," etc., would humbly suggest that the brontosaurus, being a vegetarian during his tenure of life on this terraqueous sphere, would be most unlikely to be found "in bloody embrace" with his brother-brontosauri. There is no evidence that brontosauri fought each other. They were, however, frequently attacked by tyranosaurus rex, a flesh-eating monster vaguely resembling W. C., the British statesman.

Accuracy, accuracy and accuracy.

Yr humble servant

ARTHUR BARNES.

New York City.

Third Party

TO NEW MASSES: Since those who favor a military alliance with the British empire are now in control of both the Democratic and Republican parties, there is immediate and urgent need for a third major party dedicated to the preservation of peace.

That party will be opposed to American intervention in defense of an empire upon whose shameful inequity the sun never sets; neither will it tolerate appeasement of the German or Japanese dictatorships, whose rulers, having enslaved their own people, aspire to inherit the oppression of Britain's subject races. Instead, it will propose collaboration with the only other major power which remains at peace, the Soviet Union; with the gallant Chinese people, who are fighting to protect their own soil and to become a nation; and with the genuinely democratic elements of this hemisphere, in an effort to limit rather than extend the theater of war.

The new party will not indulge in domestic witch hunts; it will maintain that those who urge the adoption of fascist policies at home on the pretext of combating foreign dictatorships are the real "fifth column." It will oppose any reduction in the living standards of the American people, any curtailment of their liberties. Thus it will receive the support of all who genuinely believe in peace, democracy, and freedom. I think that a party so constituted will prove invincible.

THOMAS G. BUCHANAN, JR.

Washington, D. C.

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Dreiser's *J'Accuse*

The dean of American novelists writes a blazing manifesto on the great crisis of our time. An urgent plea for peace and democracy. Reviewed by Samuel Sillen.

AMERICA IS WORTH SAVING, *by Theodore Dreiser. Modern Age Books. $2.50.*

THEODORE DREISER is fighting mad about the way the American people are getting pushed around by Churchill, Roosevelt, and the House of Morgan. This is not our war. This is not the war of the English people. This is not the war of the German people. All of Hitler's talk about socialism, all of Churchill's talk about civilization as we know it, all of Roosevelt's talk about arsenals for democracy is so much "eyewash." The blunt fact is that the war is a frenzied struggle for world markets waged by factions of "the Wealth International" at the expense of the native and colonial populations of the imperialist powers. Mr. Dreiser proclaims and documents these truths in a volume which has all the urgency of a bulletin from the battlefront.

Only a man who realizes that the meaning of his whole life is at stake could write this book with such passionate energy. Theodore Dreiser has fought every inch of the way, even though gropingly at times, for a freer and more humane America. At 69, he remains our most distinguished man of letters, the novelist who has most adequately depicted the tragic tensions of our national life. The measure of his greatness has ever been the measure of his sincerity, his devotion to truth and the democratic idea. And now he finds himself writing against a fascist deadline, bitterly aware that in the minds of Martin Dies and his friends ("a group apparently now including the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt") and in the eyes of Hoover's FBI men he will be committing treason by recording unpleasant truths.

Mr. Dreiser's books have been outlawed before: *Sister Carrie* lay buried for years in the cellar of its original publisher; *The Genius* was excommunicated by Sumner's vice squad; and *An American Tragedy* was banned by the Boston authorities. Mr. Dreiser has been called names before: "pro-German" in 1917 because he clung to the facts, alien agitator in Harlan, Ky., a few years back because he defended workers who had struck for a living wage. Only recently he was prevented from explaining the Bill of Rights at a public meeting place in Los Angeles. And most students of our literary history have been thoroughly ashamed and thoroughly indignant at this un-American treatment of America's greatest novelist, just as every citizen who retains a sense of fair play and a knowledge of the issues at stake must applaud Theodore Dreiser's introducing Earl Browder to

Hugo Gellert

a nationwide radio audience during a repressive election campaign.

The urgency of his style and message, then, expresses the author's understanding that the illiberal forces which he has opposed for so many years are using the war as a means and provocation for riding roughshod over American democracy. Their intentions this time are final; that is to say, fascist. To support the war is to oppose democracy. Whatever the illusions of seriously misguided people, this is the central reality of our day. Mr. Dreiser has assembled an incontrovertible mass of evidence to confirm this truth.

Hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue; and it must be admitted that imperialism pays the same tribute to "democracy" and "socialism." Like any honest writer, Mr. Dreiser devotes his main energies to reducing the pretense to the facts.

The British empire for which we are being asked to fight, he demonstrates, is a financial and military despotism which rules over half a billion of the world's population, including the masses of England proper. British imperialism, as surely as German imperialism, is the deadly foe of popular rights. It fights not for freedom but for the retention of criminally usurped privilege. Its central effort since the last war has been the crushing of socialist democracy in the USSR. As the copious evidence produced by Mr. Dreiser shows—and most of this evidence is from British sources—finance capitalists in London intrigued with their associates in Berlin to impose Hitler on the German people, not merely with a view to smashing popular discontent under the Republic, but also to directing a fascist war machine eastward. Britain's ruling class connived with Hitler in Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia. The confident strength of the Soviet Union forced the Nazis to change this ambitious schedule, and they began to bite the hand that fed them—and still feeds them, judging by the interlocking financial interests of Britain and Germany which Mr. Dreiser describes.

To the democratic pretense of capitalist vested interest, Mr. Dreiser applies acid tests: India, China, Spain; civil liberties, jobs, popular participation in governments; the *true* lesson of France; the tie-up between American, British, and German finance. He disposes once and for all, as one would think, of the gigantic hoax-romance between England and America. He exposes the Harold Laski-Max Lerner mythology of a Churchill "revolution." And he indicates how stupid and ironic and meretricious is the analogy between the two opposites, the Nazi and the Soviet states.

In a brief but impressive section on the Soviet Union, Mr. Dreiser contrasts the scarcity-amidst-plenty economy of the imperialist powers with the planned abundance of the socialist power. Analyzing the nonsensical contradiction of the phrase "Soviet imperialism" which reactionary propagandists have manufactured to obscure the issue, the author draws a withering comparison between the equal treatment of national minorities in the USSR and the discriminatory treatment of national minorities in other states. The resources of the land have been released for the people. Science, education, culture flourish under the non-profit economy. Women have been enabled to take their place with men in the building of the new society. And "Russia was the first country in the world to make the mere utterance of an anti-Semitic sentence a punishable offense." Mr. Dreiser challenges his readers to examine the facts, presented so forcefully in the Dean of Canterbury's recent book, *The Soviet Power.*

It is regrettable that three or four passages in this splendid book are marred by internal contradictions. For example, Mr. Dreiser remarks toward the end of the volume that "We in America have no time to waste arguing Russia's plan. We need an American plan; and we have it—in our Constitution and Declaration of Independence." To be sure we need an American plan, and to be sure the liberating principles of our two great charters provide the democratic impulse of such a plan. But there is no essential disparity between the "Russian" social scheme and the society which we must develop here if we are to make

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available the fruits of labor, peace, and liberty to the masses of our population. Taking into account differences in the level of economic development and variations in the social composition of the two lands, the basic problem is nevertheless identical; namely, the socializing of economy by and for the great majority of the people. And the truth that, far from being wasteful, it is *necessary* to discuss the "Russian plan" is proved by the fact that Mr. Dreiser finds it indispensable constantly to contrast that plan with imperialism in order to show how good life might be, if properly organized.

Another internal contradiction that must be noted is Mr. Dreiser's tendency at times to understate the case against American imperialism, even though he marshals facts elsewhere to condemn American imperialism a thousand times over. In one place, he declares: "For England is essentially an imperialism, and the United States—however much the Wall Street clique try to imitate their London friends—is *essentially* a free and equal association of peoples." (Mr. Dreiser's italics.) But Mr. Morgan is hardly to be classed as an "imitator." The machinations of the Guggenheims in Chile and of Standard Oil in Bolivia—to which Mr. Dreiser alludes very sharply—led to armed intervention and economic exploitation which differed in no important respect from the tactics of British imperialism. And Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, also cited by the author, dispose of any illusion about our being any more "a free and equal association of peoples" than England.

And lastly, the volume contains traces of the author's earlier mechanistic views, even though he has largely abandoned the strictness and pessimism with which he formerly expressed them. Thus, he tends to regard the acquisition of wealth and power by a tiny minority as a violation of "nature's laws, which make for balance and proportion between all things in nature—even class and degrees of intelligence in society. . . ." Actually, as Dreiser's analysis of the development of British imperialism shows, the appropriation of wealth must be explained according to historical laws and must be corrected not by an impulse of nature to restore the balance but by the conscious will of men. The mechanistic view has an offshoot in Dreiser's uncritical acceptance of a psychological theory that only three percent of the people born in the world think creatively, that twenty-two percent understand and execute the orders of the three percent, and that 75 percent react mechanically and by instinct to their environment, a "strange arrangement" of nature which "man did not invent and does not appear to be able to change." Dreiser uses this view as the basis for revolutionary change. But, in the first place, there is no scientific evidence in support of this theory, and, in the second place, if it were true there would be no possibility of revolutionary change. "Only the mass can get America out of the mess," says Dreiser; and he is right. But the 75 percent can get us out of the mess because they are capable of creative thinking, and there is no natural law to the contrary.

Dreiser is on much more solid ground when he insists, as he does again and again, that the problem is not so much intelligence as information, fair and accurate information. A shrewd critic of propaganda, he notes that the monopolists control the press, radio, and movies, and that these agencies of public enlightenment are therefore biased. More bluntly, he calls them liars. The sober reality is that ignorance is the main weapon of the enemies of democracy. That is why they have visited their wrath, and will no doubt continue to visit their wrath, on people like Theodore Dreiser who go around explaining to their fellow Americans that "We are being rushed into war because the economic monopoly system has riveted in its belly the germs of war and because it cannot solve the problems—the really very simple problems—of peace."

For those of us who are determined to keep on explaining this truth in the passionate belief that only its full recognition—by the millions, and at once—will save us from fascism, the publication of a book like this from the pen of Theodore Dreiser is an occasion for pride and rejoicing. It is appropriate, terribly appropriate, that this great artist, recognized throughout the world as a spokesman for the American people, should issue this blazing *J'Accuse* at the very moment when the effort to silence brave voices is at fever height. It is appropriate, terribly appropriate, that Theodore Dreiser should rise to challenge the shivering corps of lesser writers who, whether duped, drugged, or dined, have

From Dreiser's Book

Class Antagonisms

"To say this—to point to the divergence of interest between the wealthy fraction and the vast mass of the people—is to be accused of 'fomenting class antagonisms.' (The next verse of that number being 'We must have unity. What destroyed France?') But it isn't fomenting. It's pointing out something that exists and that must exist in America as it is now organized."

These People, Too

"There is no democracy for us, any more than there is for the inhabitants whom nobody ever consults, in America taking over British and French colonies in the West Indies. Does it ever occur to you, gentle reader, that there are people who are born and die in those colonies, people who yearn just as much as you or I for freedom?"

Soviet Progress

"What people as a whole want, so far as my observation goes, is more food and more houses and more clothes and more leisure and more opportunities to use that leisure pleasantly and advantageously. The facts show that the Russians, having abolished the dividend system, are now getting these things at a faster rate of progress than has ever been recorded in history."

India and Democracy

"India has no democracy, and never will have under England, because imperialism and democracy are opposites. Nor will the people of England ever have effective democracy until England ceases its imperialistic oppression of weaker peoples."

The War

"In the name of all reason, is this 'a war against Nazism'? No, it is a scrap between Hitlerdum and Hitlerdee."

China

"Our hearts bleed for the Chinese. We have enjoyed this sensation so much that we long supplied Japan with the iron to torture the Chinese a little more, and the oil to take Japanese planes to the altitudes from which it can most effectively be hurled. This makes our hearts bleed more gushingly than ever. We reach down into our patched jeans and are overcome with the sense of our benevolence."

Hitler and Capitalism

"Our lying press seriously expects us to believe that Hitler is anti-capitalistic, hoping to prove it by the downfall of small business and, recently, of Thyssen. In fact, of course, the small capitalists were sacrificed merely so that the great monopolists of heavy industry could survive in a war economy run hog-wild—so hog-wild that it was bound to lead to still further eliminations, placing the monopolies in still fewer hands."

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agreed to bless the flames of cultural destruction. America Is Worth Saving, Dreiser tells us, and books such as his will help save America.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

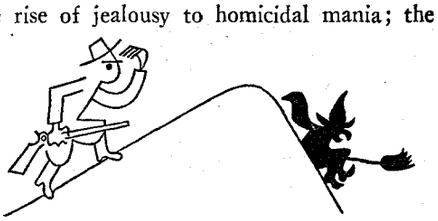
New Yorker Short Stories

SHORT STORIES FROM THE NEW YORKER. *Simon & Schuster. $3.*

MAINLY, the sixty-eight stories in this collection are between 1,500 and 2,500 words long, about what the ordinary magazine story needs to get itself started. Their writers, therefore have had to be very economical, isolating a characteristic, if a character is being sketched, or serving an incident, if a touchy situation is being analyzed, only with the most effective detail. The results are impressively neat, and it is easy to be overimpressed, like the anonymous editors of the collection. The stories are all well written, and some very well written. John Mosher's "In Honor of Their Daughter," and in its different way E. B. White's, "The Door" are little marvels of stylistic competence. Erskine Caldwell's two stories have a remarkable combination of realism and legend; their reality, in other words, is so forceful that the stories take on an almost symbolic emphasis in the mind. And Albert Maltz and Leane Zugsmith's stories have a warmth of humanity, startling amidst the general sophistication here which is tolerant of pathology but alarmed by normal emotions.

The rest of the stories please during the reading but are not hard to forget. But, perhaps Jerome Weidman's "The Explorers," Dawn Powell's "Such a Pretty Day," Mark Schorer's "Portrait of the Ladies," Daniel Fuchs' "Love in Brooklyn," John O'Hara's "Over the River and Through the Wood," James Thurber's "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty," call for special mention.

As I read on into the book I became aware of a certain atmosphere which, despite intervals of fresher breath, became pervasive. It was a neurotic air; and if one wanted to describe the settings, one could find of service some such phrase, as "the scenes are laid in a state of nervous tension." Forty-nine of the sixty-eight stories, by count, turn upon psychological wounds, conflict, maladjustment, or frustration for which E. B. White's "The Door" might well have been printed first as cue and theme. It deals with neuroses induced in laboratory rats by placing unexpected obstacles in their scientifically routinized lives, and White works this into a dizzying but beautifully proportioned stream-of-consciousness pattern of human parallels. Of Robert Coates' three stories, "The Fury" deals with the flight of a sex pervert; another, "The Net," with the rise of jealousy to homicidal mania; the



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third, "Another World," contrasts the bright, uncomplicated world of a child with the psychotic cloud of parents in the preliminaries to a divorce.

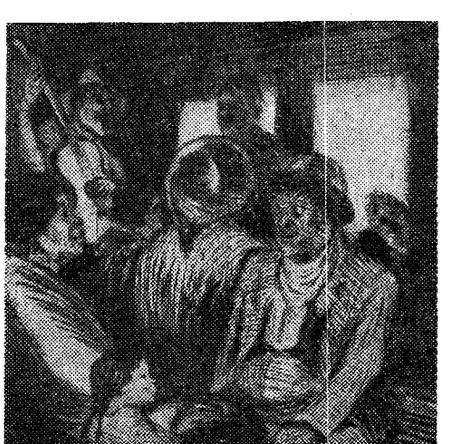
In two stories the dissatisfaction of a bored young wife festers into acts of calculated sadism, in one case against a housemaid, in the other against a book salesman. Several stories are almost clinical studies of sexual adolescence. Others deal with the tensions in households awaiting the death of old women; with the special irritations developing in the relationship of a tiny woman married to a tall man; with the obsessive character of a romantic girl's love; with the tragic inferiority of a woman who feels that she is doomed to lose all her men friends after they meet her more remarkable sister, etc., etc., etc.

If, therefore, we take these stories as a report of the condition of the bourgeois and petit bourgeois classes in this generation (as to what social sector the *New Yorker* sets out to reflect, see the top hat, monocle, and sneer of the *New Yorker's* trademark), we can only conclude that they are in a nervous as well as an economic breakdown.

Social consciousness as a method of understanding and affecting life has, however, been too strong a force not to have been felt even in the insulated editorial offices of the *New Yorker*. Some of the stories, like those by Caldwell, Maltz, and Zugsmith, take much of their power from it. Four other stories turn on different forms of the persecution inflicted on the Negro people. There is a story dealing with anti-Semitism in an ivory tower; another dealing with the anti-Nazi struggle; another with Spain. Social consciousness is an influence, and an artistically fruitful one, in a considerable number of the rest.

On the whole, however, psycho-pathology holds the ascendant. Whatever the method, literature, whether in the lines or between them, reflects reality. These stories, like the *New Yorker* caricatures, and perhaps also like the *New Yorker* ads which mirror his unsuppressed desires, seem to show that the gentleman with the top hat, monocle, and sneer is rather a sick man.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.



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A Moral, a Meteor, and a Month of Dancing

The season thus far has not presented anything substantial for the social-minded audience. Carmalita Maracci's superb artistry. . . . Another mystery play.

THE modern dance was a contemporary drive to revitalize an ancient art through a deeper and more essential approach to movement. It hoped to return dancing to its earlier nobility as an art of expression and communication, rather than one of spectacle and exhibitionism.

Isadora Duncan's spiritual descendants continually impressed the values of this artistic revolution upon an eager and devoted public. Then for a brief period, several years ago, creative expression in the modern dance was influenced by and reflected the powerful social upsurge in America and the fountainhead of the art seemed to have been rediscovered—in the profound aspirations of the common people.

This was several years ago! Now, few and far between are the major dance works which could save by sophistry and far-fetched exegesis, be called reflections of these aspirations. Three weeks ago, Charles Weidman revived "Lynchtown," a bitter exposition of mob fury, originally composed in 1935, and received an ovation. Except for this isolated item the current season has offered meager pickings for the social minded audience. Americana is not enough; satire is not enough; serio-comic vagaries about people and things are not enough. What can the dancers dance about?

No for an Answer is not a dance recital, but attendance at the Marc Blitzstein show should be obligatory for the profession. It presents a solution.

Here is a modern composer, in the best sense of the word, incorporating in his production the rhythms of America, the ballads of the people, the jazz and blues songs of today's entertainers. Large choruses, solos, duets, and contrapuntal singing episodes produce a unified work of art. Transfer this form and this approach to full length dance theater. Is it possible? I maintain yes. In addition, the content of the Blitzstein masterpiece is at once modern and timeless. The story takes place in a lunchroom; it is taking place throughout the world. It is a work that has found the essence of what modern art should strive for today. Can dance productions seek creative material in comparable social struggles? I still maintain yes. Dancers and choreographers who are fortunate enough to have groups today, and are casting about for ideas, should see *No for an Answer*.

A METEOR

Flashing before the dazzled eyes of New York audiences in December were the meteoric appearances of Carmalita Maracci. Carmalita is an American. She does ballet dancing and Spanish numbers. Her ballet technique is impeccable, her Spanish dancing inspired. She has penetrated beyond the impressive virtuosity of this latter form to establish new levels of expression.

The solo, "Lament for the Death of a Bull Fighter," for example, is not just a remarkably executed Spanish dance. It employs cinematic montage with amazing effectiveness. Dance episodes personifying the woman, the fighter, the ring, the death, the lament are woven and bound together by an inevitable logic of movement which becomes an exalted kind of poetic symbolism. Maracci must be seen to be believed!

The blending of emotional passion and artistic purity which characterizes this dancer's personal work colors, but does not permeate, the dancing of her ensemble. An assisting artist, Paul Godkin, is a fine technician, but here too, projection pales beside his partner's. It is to be regretted that half of Maracci's program exhibits group and solo ballet numbers, and that they are out-and-out show pieces. As a facet of Maracci's art, ballet etudes probably deserve subordinate honors on a program, but those advisers who are permitting her to expend so much creative thinking in that arid field are dispersing the energies and promise of a terrific artist.

LITTLE PEOPLE'S MIME

Angna Enters is a mime who combines, in her sketches, a scientific devotion to historical authenticity and scholarship with a keen observation of, and a human affection for, the foibles and fancies of little people. An evening with this artist is like attending a retrospective exhibition of portraits in all styles: drypoint etchings, delicate gouaches, pen and inks, etc.

Two Spanish numbers from the sixteenth century, "Pavana" and "Boy Cardinal" are masterpieces of comment; the former on the corrupt court, the latter on the corrupt church hierarchy. "Odalisque" and "Aphrodisiac" are portraits of two prostitutes. In one, the harem woman rests in the luxurious and slightly sickening appointments of her sensual, secure life. The other, a nervous and haunted Paris street-walker, sits in a cafe, savagely and hungrily on the alert for trade. Enters creates these woman by an almost inspirational selection of detail in costuming and economy of gesture.

"A Modern Totalitarian Hero" has far less punch than "Boy Cardinal." *"Wiener Blut,"* based on the anti-Jewish laws of Nazi Vienna, seems superficial compared to *"Auto da Fe,"* dealing with a similar theme during the Inquisition. Is it that this mime has not yet grasped completely the objective social conditions which surround her contemporary recreations? Emotional sympathy alone cannot carry the burden. How much easier it is today to expose treachery among the Medicis, than to identify Churchill's glove on Hitler's mailed fist! Miss Enters has not yet solved that problem.

DORIS HUMPHREY—CHARLES WEIDMAN

Prohibitive expense is the bottleneck which keeps most modern dance recitals out of the Broadway area. Charles Weidman and Doris Humphrey, with enterprise and acumen, have avoided this increasingly depressing problem by building a little theater to house their productions at 108 West 16th Street in New York City. Three changes of program have already been on view there, each time to capacity audiences.

In the course of a decade Humphrey and Weidman have, individually and jointly, extended the scope of the modern dance. The greatest single achievement in American dance choreography was "New Dance" by Miss Humphrey, while Weidman has not only been the field's outstanding humorist, but time and again has presented his public with socially significant material.

New works to be seen at this time were "Square Dances" and "Song of the West" by Doris Humphrey, and "On My Mother's Side," a suite of solos by Charles Weidman. "Square Dances," as the program notes confess, have no more than "nodding acquaintance with the originals." They are charmingly costumed divertissements, excellently composed by Miss Humphrey.

"The Green Land," a solo by Miss Humphrey, is the first section of "Song of the West." Its mood is tranquil and expansive and its communication limited to following the rise and fall of its lyric line. "Desert," the colorful second part of this suite, a group composition, related itself to a ceremonial of ancient gods. Its onrushing and shifting formations seemed cramped in the little auditorium and its episodic construction militated against coherence and climax.

If this is a work in progress, as has been suggested, we look forward to Miss Humphrey's including in a song of the West a song about the people who live on the land as well. This is not a literal plea for a *Grapes of Wrath,* but a reminder that to many of us, the West means more than desert flowers and rolling landscapes.

Charles Weidman has composed his finest solos in "On My Mother's Side." A pioneer great-grandfather, a grandfather who built

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houses, a blind, hard-working grandmother, a dancing little aunt, and Sonny himself are perfect little vignettes with overtones of personal tragedy simply projected and touches of frivolity delicately maintained.

Unfortunately something misnamed "prose poetry, written especially for the dance," which prefixed each number, destroyed rather than supplemented the mood. The obvious rhyming and repetition which characterized these stanzas were embarrassingly sophomoric. As proof of their ineptness, the introduction to Weidman's most dramatic number, the suicide of a builder whose houses burnt down, provoked giggles in the audience. Some professional poet ought to take the problem in hand.

The dancers in the Humphrey-Weidman company perform expertly, with Beatrice Seckler, Katharine Litz, and Lee Sherman outstanding, even though one wishes that the two girls were less cast to type, Miss Seckler as Savage and Miss Litz as Lyric. They ought to demand more variety in their own performance. Lionel Nowak provides highly competent music as well as musical direction for these programs.

FORECAST

The Ballet Theater in new works and old favorites is due back in town soon . . . also another series of recitals by Helen Tamiris and group at her little studio theater at 434 Lafayette St., New York . . . also Carmen Amaya . . . those who have seen the gypsy dancer with "the devil in her body" (publicity phrase) swear by her. . . . Anna Sokolow and her group will present their only New York recital of the season in six weeks, at which time American audiences will have an opportunity to see her Mexican ballets, as well as several other new numbers.

FRANCIS STEUBEN.

Uninspired Whodunit

Another run-of-the-mill mystery play comes to town.

THE *Mr. and Mrs. North* who are cavorting at the Belasco, spring from the pages of the *New Yorker*. Owen Davis, author of innumerable better plays, has adapted them to the stage from the stories of Frances and Richard Lockridge, and this time they meet murder.

The murder they meet comes in the form of a corpse in their liquor closet, and the conflict of the drama revolves about the effort to solve the mystery and keep themselves out of trouble. For neither of the Norths—Mr., but particularly Mrs.—is particularly bright, although they are both extremely amiable.

To write an acceptable murder mystery these days you have to possess more than a small amount of ingenuity, for the trade has been educated to the tricks. Since it is traditional to have the least suspicious person invariably the murderer, you do not suspect the Norths, for they are the least suspicious people. But

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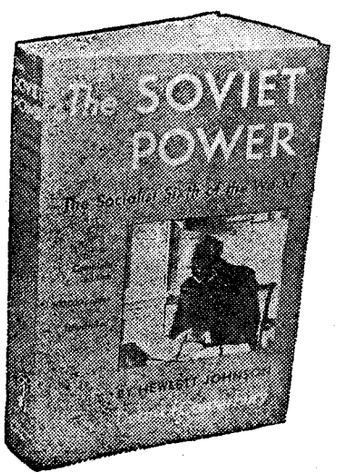

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neither do you suspect the real culprit, and if you have sat through the play thus far you will be considerably exasperated, for Mr. Davis pulls a very shabby and unsubstantial trick on his audience, by introducing in the last two minutes of action a vast amount of hitherto concealed information.

As the Norths, Albert Hackett and Peggy Conklin are close to the conception of the originals; particularly Miss Conklin, in her simulation of brainlessness. She is the sort of gal who parks by hydrants, loses all her housekeys, never understands the issues, talks incessantly and to no purpose. (Only I wish Miss Conklin, who possesses genuine charm and prettiness, would develop at least one other key to her voice—she speaks continuously in A-flat—very). Millard Mitchell makes an excellent stage detective of the traditional variety, Philip Ober an excellent ditto of the more modern school. Both are amiability personified. The other players do not matter very much.

But I do not think you will find *Mr. and Mrs. North* as hilarious as they might have been, for Mr. Davis' drama is slow, mechanical, and uninspired, and the ingenuity so much desired in murder mysteries is conspicuously lacking.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Movie Roundup

Daniel Todd discusses "Night Train" and "Comrade X."

"NIGHT TRAIN," a new spy picture from the British Ministry of Information, is something like *The Lady Vanishes*. It begins with a long trucking shot in the midst of high mountains; much of its action takes place on a train; and it has the same pretty heroine and the same two comic English tourists who, in *The Lady Vanishes,* became entangled in international intrigue when they wanted to be left alone to talk about cricket. There are several reasons why *Night Train* is not as good as its model. The characters escape several times, from three different countries, and with so much ground to cover, the director, Carol Reed, has no time to stop for small details. The heroine gets out of a German concentration camp simply by ripping a hole in the barbed wire; in the next scene she is landing in England. Carol Reed has probably not seen any American prison pictures, which I don't think are exported to England. They teach a lesson about prison breaks. Prison breaks are credible only when the physical aspects of the prison have been thoroughly explained so you can see what problems the prisoners face on their way out. Alfred Hitchcock would take two reels to get his prisoners out of concentration camp.

The plot of *Night Train* is not unpleasantly realistic. The heroine's father is an inventor of armor plate employed at the Skoda plant in Czechoslovakia, and in May 1939 he is hustled aboard a plane for England to keep his secret out of German hands. This displays an alarming naivete about the ways

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GOINGS ON

A. B. MAGIL, editor NEW MASSES, analyzes the week's events, Sunday, January 26, 8:30 P.M. Workers School, 50 East 13 Street. 25 cents.

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of munitions makers, particularly of Skoda, which had recently been purchased from Schneider Creusot by Krupp. A munitions plant can work well under any regime, and Skoda, feeling that it could work best under the Nazis, had been contributing to Hitler's campaign fund for as long as fifteen years and kept enough weapons in its store room to supply an army corps in case of civil war. The inventor naturally appears baffled, but he submits to be taken to England, where he is promptly kidnaped and carried to Germany on a submarine, where he is kidnaped and brought back to England by an English secret agent masquerading as a German officer. The excitement is almost too much for him, and if he can remember any military secrets after a wild ride across a deep gorge with Nazis popping away at him, it's a wonder. In the final episode, on the night train from Berlin to Munich, there is some excitement, but it is dissipated in a badly handled scene on a cable-car over a gorge between the Reich and Switzerland. The English are not good at process shots. *Night Train,* like other current British melodramas, has the simple cowboy-and-Indian morality which is typical of official art in wartime.

When an anti-Soviet picture is criticized by the New York *Times,* it is an exceptionally bad picture. The *Times* was disappointed in *Comrade X,* in which Hedy Lamarr endeavors to talk like Greta Garbo in *Ninotchka,* because about all it says against the Soviet Union is that in the Soviet Union doors fall down when they are slammed too hard. Now I have never seen any figures on the number of doors that fall down annually in the Soviet Union, but I don't think it is a particularly significant index of industrial activity. *Comrade X* also accuses the Russians of believing in free love.

The interesting thing about these charges is that they are old-fashioned. Propaganda in the press against the Soviet Union has not mentioned public morals (which are naturally higher under socialism than under capitalism) since the early days when "nationalization of women" was a popular phrase in the commercial papers; and it has not mentioned inefficiency (which is far less, of course, under socialism than under capitalism—with its unemployed, its useless competition, its enormous excess capacity even when producing at top speed for war) since newspaper editors were splitting with laughter over the first five-year plan. The fact that the charges are old-fashioned does not make them any less noxious. MGM intended *Comrade X* to be a devastating attack on the labor movement, in America as well as in Russia, and it is full of pointed remarks about the honesty and discernment of anyone who desires to improve the world. The fact that because of corny acting, incredibly bad dialogue and slovenly directing, the attack is not devastating but ridiculous, does not make it any less noxious either.

By the way, the Irving Place Theater is showing Soviet movies at popular prices.

DANIEL TODD.

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For these reasons, the editors plan to celebrate New Masses' thirtieth birthday. We are preparing a 100,000 anniversary edition of sixty-four pages, out February 14. The details, including contributors from the political, literary, and art world, will be announced next week.

Then on Sunday, February 16, a huge birthday party will take place at Manhattan Center. Earl Browder, Ruth McKenney, Dr. Harry F. Ward, William Gropper, and others will bring personal greetings; an extensive program of entertainment will include Anna Sokolow, Earl Robinson, Billie Holliday, Laura Duncan, and others.

The editors ask you to reserve the date to come to our party as the honored guests. You made this magazine, kept it alive in the most trying times. Come honor it with us.

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